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# Michigan History Magazine

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SUMMER NUMBER

1928

## DIARY OF THE SIEGE OF DETROIT

—*William L. Jenks*

## THE VANISHED KINGDOM

—*Ivan Swift*

## SOME UNUSUAL RELICS IN THE MICHIGAN PIONEER MUSEUM

—*E. F. Greenman*



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MICHIGAN HISTORY MAGAZINE

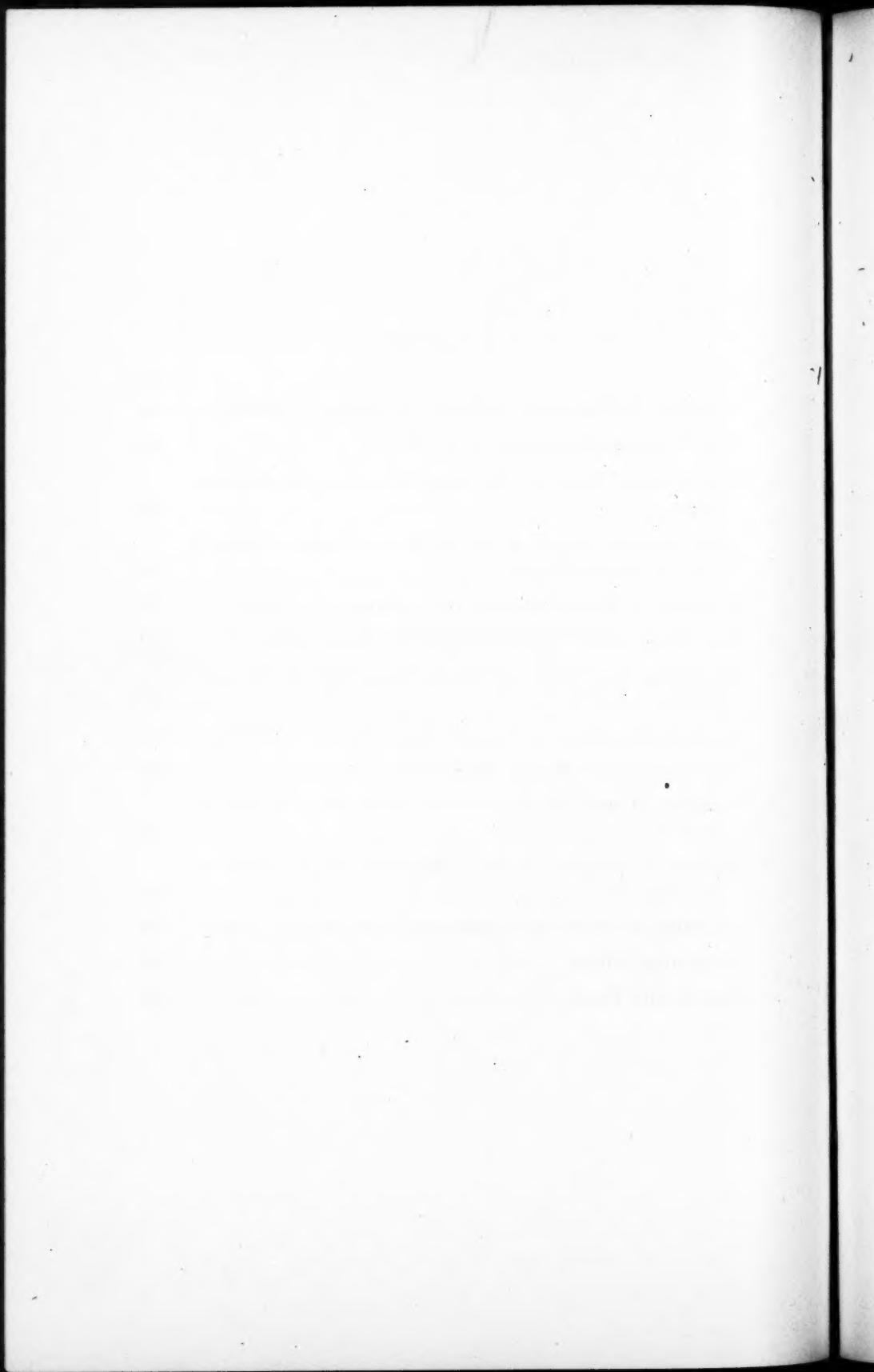
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GEORGE N. FULLER, *Editor*

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## CONTENTS

	Page
DIARY OF THE SIEGE OF DETROIT—WILLIAM L. JENKS....	437
THE VANISHED KINGDOM—IVAN SWIFT.....	443
THE FICTION FIELD OF MICHIGAN HISTORY—H. BEDFORD- JONES .....	450
SOME UNUSUAL RELICS IN THE MICHIGAN PIONEER MUSEUM —E. F. GREENMAN .....	454
PIONEERS OF ST. JOSEPH COUNTY—WARREN C. HULL.....	483
THE FOLK OF OUR TOWN—HENRY O. SEVERANCE.....	486
HISTORY OF THE MICHIGAN STATE FEDERATION OF WOMEN'S CLUBS—IRMA T. JONES.....	499
AT FORT MACKINAC A CENTURY AGO—HARRY L. SPOONER.	505
THREE ISLANDS—MARION MORSE DAVIS.....	513
CORNISH MINERS OF THE UPPER PENINSULA—JAMES E. JOPLING .....	554
DETROIT CAMPAIGN OF GEN. WILLIAM HULL—JOHN G. VAN DEUSEN .....	568
CALENDAR OF MICHIGAN COPYRIGHTS—WILLIAM L. JENKS.	584
HISTORICAL NOTES .....	590
AMONG THE BOOKS .....	626



# MICHIGAN HISTORY MAGAZINE

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VOL. XII

JULY, 1928

WHOLE No. 44

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## DIARY OF THE SIEGE OF DETROIT

BY WILLIAM L. JENKS

PORT HURON

WHEN Parkman was preparing his material for his *Conspiracy of Pontiac*, he visited Detroit in 1845 and obtained from Governor Cass a copy of the French manuscript of the Siege of Detroit which covered the period from May 5 to July 31, 1763. This manuscript was anonymous, and Parkman believed it to be the work of a French priest. It now seems, however, reasonably certain that it was the work of Robert Navarre, a prominent Frenchman of the locality.

In addition to this manuscript, Parkman obtained the statements, taken more than sixty years after the event, of a number of old survivors who have some recollection of the Siege. He also used the statements contained in a few letters written by officers at Detroit and published in the eastern newspapers. These comprised practically all of his Detroit material relating to the Siege, and his work was published in 1851.

Since the work was first published, a considerable amount of new material covering the Siege has come to light; additional letters of Lieut. MacDonald, the Journal and a letter of John Porteous, the letter book of James Sterling, and especially, because of its length and fullness, the *Diary of the Siege of Detroit* which was published in 1860 by Munsell, of Albany, N. Y., under the editorship of F. B. Hough. This diary covers the period from May 7, 1763 to June 6, 1765. The introduction says:

"Although the author of the Diary was unknown, we have reason to infer from several allusions to himself and references to other records kept along with it, that he was the secretary of the Commandant and that he was fully in his confidence. The manuscript is all in one handwriting and is written upon about half a dozen sizes of paper which were evidently in loose sheets at the time and have since been bound in one volume.

It was purchased from a Bookseller in London and its former owner had begun to print it, but finding, after getting through thirty-two pages, that the sheets had not been bound up in chronological order, the enterprise was abandoned."

The manuscript was afterwards sold at the Menzies sale in New York on November 17, 1876, for thirty dollars (\$30.00) and the present owner of the manuscript is unknown.

By a curious coincidence the French manuscript and the Diary both end abruptly. Apparently, no effort has heretofore been made to ascertain the author of the Diary, but it is certain that the author was Lieut. Jehu Hay, who came to Detroit with Major Gladwin in 1762 and remained there in various capacities during the rest of his life. This is proved partly by comparison with the French manuscript and also by letters written by Hay during the Siege.

The French manuscript, under date of May 13, 1763, after referring to a sortie by Capt. Hopkins, says: "This one (another sortie) was undertaken by Mr. Hay, a lieutenant of the American Troops, who likewise sallied out with thirty men and set fire to some barns and stables behind the fort and then returned at once." The Diary on the same date has an entry: "This afternoon burned several outhouses from behind which they annoyed us."

Under date of May 28 the French manuscript says: "The Commandant ordered a sortie when he saw that the Indians were quiet. This was carried out by Mr. Hay, Officier de Troupe with twenty men for the purpose of destroying the entrenchment." The Diary on the same date has no reference to the action, but on the following date says: "About Fifty

Indians lay in ambush imagining that we would make a sortie as we had done two or three days before to burn some logs they had made as breastwork."

Under date of July 4 the French manuscript says: "The Commandant . . . . . ordered Major Hay, Officer of the Royal Americans, to sally forth with thirty men to level the nightly work of the savages and vagabonds." The Diary on the same date says: "This morning early made a sortie with thirty men to cover a party to bring in some powder and lead that was in Mr. Babies' house after which we destroyed an entrenchment that the Indians had made from which they annoy'd us."

On August 8 the Diary says: "This morning at two o'clock Capt. Hopkins and two subalterns with sixty volunteers went down in boats with an intent to surprise an Indian Caban at the Puttawatamee village. We went down undiscovered to the place we intended to land, and in turning in the boats to the shore, the row galley which was commanded by Lieut. Abbott, being heavy, did not follow so near as could be wished, etc." Evidently the author was the other subaltern.

Under date of October 2 the Diary says: "This morning at ten o'clock Lieut. Brehm, Lieut. Abbott, Ensn. Riggell and myself were sent up the river with four arm'd batteaux, etc."

Lieut. Hay wrote on October 5, 1763, to Col. Henry Bouquet, with whom he evidently was on somewhat familiar terms, and in the letter says: "The second inst. Lieut. Brehm with three other officers (of which number I was one) was sent with four armed batteaux, etc." The language of this letter referring to the event corresponds very closely with the language in the Diary of this date.

The language in the Diary in describing the occurrences of the Siege agrees in general quite closely with the other descriptions found in the French manuscript and letters written by the other officers. Evidently, whatever was known to one was known to all within the Fort, and the knowledge displayed by the author of the Diary of the actions and decisions

of the Commanding Officer, Major Goodwin, was not so peculiar as to raise the presumption that he was the secretary of the Commandant.

Neither the Diary nor the French manuscript mentions the names of the two vessels which played so important a part in the Siege. The manuscript always refers to them as "barques," but distinguishes them in size as large and small. The Diary distinguishes them as schooner and sloop. Parkman names them the "Gladwin" and "Beaver", but in this he was clearly mistaken. The "Gladwin" was not built until the following year. James Sterling in one of his letters calls the schooner "Huron", and John Porteous in his Journal, calls the sloop "Michigan."

✓  
long  
442  
The author of the Diary, Jehu Hay, was born in Chester, Pa., and entered the British Army as Ensign in the 60th American Regiment in 1758. On April 27, 1762, he was promoted to Lieutenant and was at Niagara when Major Gladwin was sent during the same year to Detroit and took a part of his regiment and with it Mr. Hay, arriving at Detroit on August 23, 1762. Hay was at Detroit during the entire Siege by Pontiac and remained there until the Fall of 1778, having in the meantime been promoted to Major of Militia.

In May, 1765, Hay applied to Sir William Johnson for a post and speaks of unpaid services to garrison and Indians. On June 10 he wrote to express appreciation of an encouraging letter. In 1766 he was appointed Commissioner of Trade with the Indians (or Commissary) at Detroit.

In March, 1774, General Haldimand of Canada sent Hay to examine and report upon the conditions in the Illinois country. On September 9, 1776, he was appointed deputy or assistant in the Indian service at Detroit still retaining his position in the Army.

441  
In the Fall of 1778, Lieutenant-Governor Henry Hamilton of Detroit determined to recapture Vincennes, which had been taken by the Americans, to punish them and the French in that part of the country for their attitude towards the Eng-



lish, and on October 7, 1778, he left Detroit with a considerable force of soldiers and Indians, taking with him Hay who was now Major of Volunteers. On arriving near Vincennes, Major Hay was sent on to take possession of the Fort, which was then occupied by a single officer, Captain Helm, with one private, who surrendered to Hay on December 17, 1778. The notable recapture of this Fort by George Rogers Clark on February 25, 1779, is well known. Clark, in his account of the capture, speaks of his threat against the Indian partisans, and his application of that threat directly to Major Hay as one of the producing causes of the surrender.

Hay and Hamilton gave their parole to Clark on March 1, 1779, and seven days later, with a few other captives, started for Virginia under charge of a small American force, arriving at the Falls of the Ohio on March 30, and from there they were taken to Chesterfield, Va., arriving May 26. On August 31 Hay was taken to Williamsburg, where Hamilton had been since June 15. There he remained until Aug. 1, 1780, when he was sent back to Chesterfield and placed in jail.

On October 10, 1780, Hay, together with Hamilton, accepted parole and were released, going first to Williamsburg, then to Hampton and then to New York City, where on March 4, 1781, they were exchanged.

Hamilton and Hay were close friends, and as Hamilton had friends of influence in England, they decided to go to England and left on May 27, 1781, arriving at Falmouth on June 21.

The report of Hamilton dated July 6, 1781, which he made first to Lord George Germaine, and then at the suggestion of Germaine, to General Haldimand, governor general of Canada, aroused considerable sympathy for him on account of his troubles and sufferings, and it was decided to promote him from his position at Detroit to Lieutenant-Governor of Canada. This promotion left a vacancy in the position of Lieutenant-Governorship of Detroit, and as Hay was a fellow-sufferer with Hamilton, on April 23, 1782, he was commissioned Lieutenant-Governor and Superintendent of the post at Detroit in place

of Hamilton, and Hay arrived at Quebec the last of June, 1782.

At the time of Hay's appointment, Major DePeyster was in charge at Detroit and General Haldimand had great confidence in him and apparently not very much confidence in Hay as, after hearing of Hay's appointment, Haldimand wrote to Major Powell at Niagara that he could not permit Hay's going to Detroit until arrangements had been made by Sir John Johnson, who was Indian Superintendent, for the management of the department at Detroit. In another letter Haldimand objected to sending Hay to take the place of DePeyster, and it was not until November 2, 1783, that Hay finally was ordered to go to Detroit. He left Montreal and reached Carleton Island November 24, where he was taken sick and a few days later returned to Montreal where he remained until the following summer, when he again left, arriving at Detroit July 12, 1784, for his seat of Governor.

He enjoyed the duties and emoluments of this position for a short time only, as he died at Detroit on August 2, 1785. He had married at Detroit Julie Marie Reaume in 1778, and had one son, John, who survived him.

He remained in England about a year, and probably while there prepared the manuscript of the diary as it is published, but for some reason he failed to complete it and left the manuscript in London when he returned to America.

## THE VANISHED KINGDOM

(A Michigan History Episode)

BY IVAN SWIFT

HARBOR SPRINGS

THIS may not be exactly the stuff that history is made of; and it may be better than that. It is an accurate report of what eye-witnesses told me fifty years after the events. Whether the report was or could be faithful to the letter is another matter. The north country makes poets of the commoners and they are born romancers; but how often the storyteller's story has given a truer plat of fact than the historian's research! Again, we have no contradiction, even from others who lived at the time and place; and if the details are shuffled and names confused we take the story for what it is worth—for the want of something worth more. Dan Edocomigo, credited with four spoken words a week, remarked once, "Some folks talk a lot—bimeby belieb it." That may be it.

However, and there is proof and record of this much, Mackinac Island and village in the Fifties was a bustling, colorful and romantic place some days, some times of year. The *coureurs des bois* and trappers came down from Keewadin and elsewhere, tricked out in bright plaids, fur-caps and buckskin moccasins, and singing *chansons* to the time of the paddle's dip. The tight little houses, hollyhock gardens and white-washed picket fences along the one white road and under the lime-stone cliffs dotted with masses of dark *arbor-vitae*, were there as they are now; and the Fort and block-houses were old settlers even then. The fur-traders in the Astor Post were busy in season; and the fishermen and "netters of the nets" were not asleep, particularly nights, if report may be credited.

The revenue-cutter *Michigan* was in service and paid annual visits with blankets and gold-pieces for the Indians—the Government's chicks with a broken wing; and the hawks were

just around the bend with smuggled whiskey and tobacco to sell for the gold and some of the blankets.

On one early-spring day a crowd of unusual proportions hung about the wharf, anticipating some event and putting in the time romantically, probably.

As the commander of the side-wheeler stepped ashore he was greeted by a delegation of French-Canadian fishermen headed by the diminutive, bead-eyed, bob-haired Antoine Gihault who approached, cap in hand.

"If you oblige, Capitain, we like to make a few word," began Antoine. "We work hard to live. We pay our debt and make good name. Then we lose lots fish and net, sometime cow and pig; and sometime one man, he's in Canaday, lose his wife, *aussi*. This be go too far, *certainment*. We can't stand this no more. We don't speak any name, *mais* some them peoples, on one island we can see, keep the French all time poor because. What we do? We got no law."

The commander hesitated a moment, looking over his petitioners, then replied: "If you see with your own eyes any Mor-mon taking nets or fish or cow, or any little thing like your wife 'Aussi'—shoot him down like a dog, with no time to pray. That will be the law of this land—till we get better ones. . . But, make no mistakes—or you may be the dog yourself."

A man in the back-ground, just returned from the winter's trapping, overheard enough of the interview to sting his ears. His wife and children were on the Beavers since the previous fall and rumors were getting too thick for his comfort. He had left his family none too well provided for through the hard months.

That evening as the sun set red behind St. Helene, the revenue-cutter cast off, bound for few-knew-where—with one extra deck-hand. The stranger told the midshipman that the King of the Beavers had some knowledge of the smugglers in the Straits region. That may have influenced the ship's route.

The *S. S. Michigan* performed many functions and was almost arbitrary ruler of the Great Lakes in that decade. Her

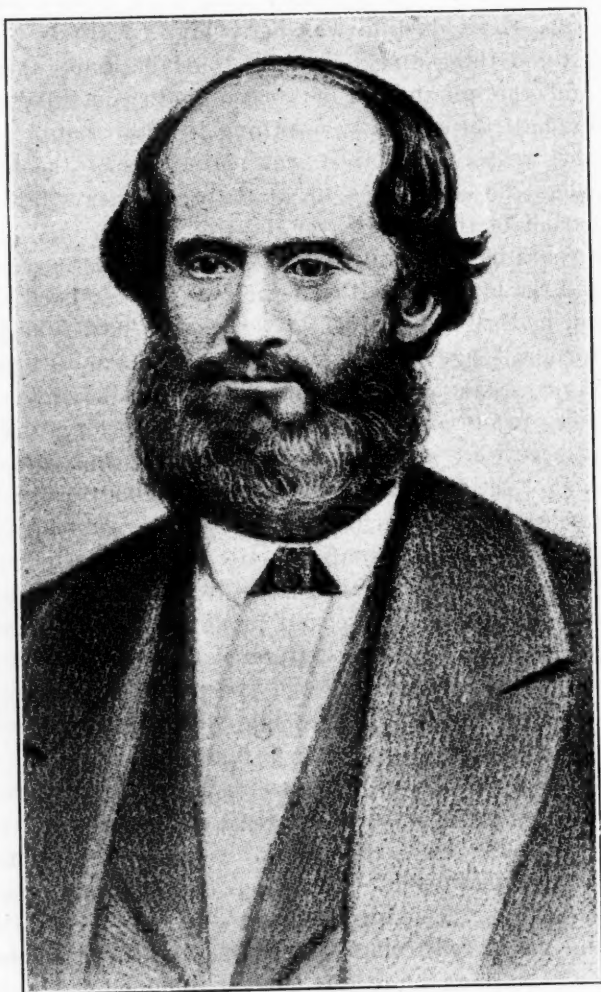
*revenue cutter*

orders were sealed—so long as her captain's lips were sealed, and her plans were not generally advertised, even among her own crew. Her schedule was her whim. A little pleasure-cruise around the hiding-coves might not be amiss these pay-days; and the pursuit of a corpse-candle, mistaken for a smuggler, half the night, was nothing to brag about.

For this reason or that it was eight-bells of the morning watch when the cutter tied up at the St. James wharf in the upper harbor of the Big Beaver.

Some years before, James Strang, "her only lawyer, doctor, priest and the black-fox with the girl," as a prejudiced Frenchman said, had settled on the Beavers as the most likely place for a Mormon kingdom in the north; and he was at outs with the Utah procession. On this nine-by-fifteen mile, high-and-dry island were resources enough in fishing, lumbering and farming; and here were strong men for the work, and Strang had the brains for the governing—as he and everybody else believed. He was a lawyer and musician and a strong personality with kingly bearing and imagination. He had made a good start at any rate. The "King's Highway" was built the length of the island, from the Temple and print-shop at St. James, to Genesareth at the southern extremity. He had accumulated a dozen wives, which signified some prosperity; and as evidence that he was not soft, a considerable whipping-post decorated the village square.

The adventurer's dream was coming true—barring the even chance that the savagery of the early North proved wanting in appreciation. He saw farther than his neighbors did and was not always understood. One thing the population seemed dense about was the "king's tithing"—a rule of taxation on wages and property-income. Kingdoms and civilizations cost money. The natives, up to this time, had helped themselves to the bounties of Nature and called it their right. Strang *took over* the bounties in very modern spirit, and farmed them out at so much per, giving, it must be admitted as seems to us now, value received. The Temple was light and warm and a



JAMES J. STRANG



violin, played betimes, counted as a necessity with women and children, as indeed it is. The winters were long and severe, the island ice-bound, and trappers could not take their families to the Canadian woods nor easily provide for them at home. If the king's household proved too attractive, that could not be wondered at—and wouldn't have been, but for the *tithings*. There was the very barb of the king's offence!

This was the state of things when Madeline Granet, as rumor had it, moved into better quarters, as Number *Thirteen*—an unlucky number, perhaps. Be that as it may, at least it was easier for her than foraging for herself or paying tithings for a non-resident husband.

Shortly after the *Michigan* landed at the Beavers, (so they say up there) the captain sent for King Strang to come aboard "on important business pertaining to import business, etc.;" none too definite, but something must be specified to justify the "king" in leaving his affairs of state—potato-sprouting time.

Presently the King, unmistakably the King, approached the ship in advance of his escort; the yellow hair of his bare head blowing in the wind, his dreamy blue eyes looking straight front, his step springy and his figure erect. The sailors had heard he was "tall like the pine-tree, with voice like the fog-horn," and much interest, not to say anxiety, was shown in his close-up person and proceedings.

As this unusual figure of the State's history, about whom much had been said and little known, entered the commander's cabin the officer arose with an air of deference and greeted his visitor:

"I have the great honor of receiving and addressing the king of this now famous island, I believe."

To which the king replied rather yawningly, "I am Mr. James Strang, sir; and take some responsibility in this very limited area."

"The Government fully appreciates your co-operation in its many vexatious cares, Mr. Strang," the captain replied.

"The Government will in time exhibit its gratitude concretely. My purposes are upbuilding, my methods original,—my time *limited*."

The captain flushed. "We are quite aware that your time is brief, sir; and we will not detain you beyond reason. The immediate business in hand, Mr. Strang, is certain illegal traffic in this region; and it occurred to us that your wide acquaintance and close observation might be of service in the matter. Could you inform us of the whereabouts of one Dirk McCurdy, owner of the *She Wolf*, better known as the 'Mary Ann'?"

"My authority and concern are limited to this island and the needs of its inhabitants. My interest in the gentleman of uncertain residence refers only to certain internal taxes now delinquent, and a proposed attachment on his rolling-stock for the liquidation of the debt. I hoped to *obtain* information from the Government's *efficiency*." The King was showing his claws again. The commander was not making satisfactory progress with the royal witness and decided on a new tack:

"Now, Mr. Strang, may I be permitted to enquire—in your system of attachments for payment of dues, do you confine yourself to chattels, or, on occasion, do you include in your invoices the persons of other men's wives?"

Some fire smouldered in the king's eye an instant, but he retained his calm and replied firmly:

"Unless perhaps the commander's query is ambiguous to my scant learning, it indicates a repetition in terms. In reply I have to say, the women attach *themselves*. I am caring for as many as my means will permit and exacting such obedience as continued residence in this colony requires. Clearance is free to those who prefer the world and the devil!"

"That is very generous of you, I am sure," said the officer. "May I be informed as to what length your sense of duty to the country leads you in the matter of the number of wives you—?"

Before the speaker could go further the king raised his voice slightly and lowered his eye-brows dramatically:



"In the sacred and private concerns of my domestic life, sir, I choose to consult the necessities, the Great Jehovah and my own sufficient judgment—rather than the continental congress or its impertinent servants!"

The commander of the law-boat was stiffened with rage and humiliated in failure. Rising to his feet he exclaimed hotly, "Then *beware of the Great Jehovah!* That is all, Your Majesty," and left the room.

The king wheeled in his tracks like a trained soldier, waved a rejection of escort and left the ship—a conqueror in the first skirmish with inquisitive authority.

As he stepped from the gang-plank, his head erect and his bearded lip curled in a cynical smile—two pistol-shots snapped out from somewhere in the lumber-piles close to the ship. The king halted, reeled, and crumpled to the ground—with blood-spots in his yellow hair. The King was laid low by an adversary less brave than he could admire. Long live the King!

His own people came to his aid and hurried him away to the mercy of another state, where he soon died—and his "kingdom" died with him. His critics were many; his successors to the vision none. His legacy to Michigan was the King's Highway, from which example we have profited.

Shiny  
crack of

## THE FICTION FIELD OF MICHIGAN HISTORY

By H. BEDFORD-JONES

ANN ARBOR

FROM the peculiar fact that Michigan history goes back in record to the first visits of Nicholas Perrot in 1664-6, and even beyond, it is an especially fruitful field for historical tales and fiction. It abounds with incidents which make a singular appeal to the imagination, such as the burning by the French and Indians of the Iroquois chief at the first Michilimackinac, now St. Ignace; or the forgotten visits of the black-robes who left the name of St. James as an ironic legacy to King Strang's capital; or the unknown Frenchman whose garden survived to recent years at Bear Lake, now Walloon.

The editor of this magazine has requested me to list such stories as I have written about early Michigan, with synopses of same. As I have no copies of them at hand, I can do this only briefly. During the past ten years I have written a good many magazine stories, mainly of book length, dealing with the subject and it is far from being in any way exhausted. Last summer, indeed, it was my good fortune to cut the trail of a great many documents and personal relics of King Strang, hitherto unknown; lack of time to run them down, however—they are in Escanaba—forced me to turn over the scent to the Wisconsin Historical Society, who may make good use of them.

The following stories have appeared in various fiction magazines:

✓ **STRANG'S MEN**—An attempt to picture King Strang's apparently paradoxical character with fairness, if not with sympathy. I think the arrow came close to the mark. This story drew an indignant letter from a descendant of Michael Douseman, wildly threatening to sue me for libelling his ancestor; but upon being presented with the facts about some portions of said ancestor's earthly career, he promptly took to cover.

**BLOOD ROYAL**—A story of the "shipping-wood" days of about 1876, centering about a mythical son of King Strang, and deal-

ing with mainland and Beavers. Incorrect in some details, it has since been rewritten for book publication. This story drew some attention from the descendants of the prophet and seemed to be quite favorably received; the material was gathered at first hand and included some interesting "old settlers' tales" which were woven into the story. Oddly enough, a Harbor Springs man wrote the publishers stating that the story was plagiarized from him, and in a wild farrago claiming damages. Upon investigation, a suit for criminal libel was put under way, when it was quashed on the presumption that he was mentally unbalanced and irresponsible. Stories about Michigan seem to threaten lawsuits. Authors beware!

THE CONVERT GOES NORTH } —A brace of stories which  
THE DEVIL'S DISCIPLE } dealt with Protestant missionaries of 1850-60 and which touched very briefly on the efforts of King Strang to halt the liquor traffic.

TRAILS CHIVALROUS—This story covered a period which, to me, is most interesting; that of Michigan in 1814. It attempted to cover the entire territory from what is now Walloon Lake to the Nottawasaga river. Perhaps because the record is anything but glorious, the story of the bloody defeat of Sinclair and Croghan at Mackinac Island is not very well known. The period marked the end of Michigan's old romance, before the smallpox had quite swept away the redskins, and when Mackinac was still the meeting place of Mohawk and Chippewa, French voyageur and British redcoat. One of the characters was the sub-chief Petoskey, as the name is now spelt; who, though he burned plenty of British powder at the island, gave his name to the town at Agaming or Bear River.

HISTOIRE de l'Amérique Septentrionale, by Bacqueville de la Potherie. A translation of this work, hitherto untranslated except in some fragments by Miss Blair, I have had in preparation for some time, and hope the first volume will be published during 1928. This history deals in large measure with Michigan and Wisconsin, being dictated by Perrot, La Salle Joliet, Indian chiefs, etc., and the dictation corrected by them after being written down by Potherie. Also, their memoirs were used, those of Perrot in particular, and as noted by Parkman, the work is the sole existing authority on some phases of early history.

There have been a scattering of other stories, and one or two boys books, but I have none of them at hand.

While I am on the subject, this magazine is an excellent place in which to voice a protest against some of the very careless and ignorant allusions to Michigan history which are constantly made. There are one or two writers—and I am not referring to Johnny Wright, either—who indulge in a great

deal of romanticism which is ill-founded. They spread abroad so-called tales and legends and poems which serve only to distort facts in the popular mind. One of them, a few years ago, gained a good deal of prominence with a poem which purported to recite the death of King Strang; it related how Strang had wronged Bedford, and how the latter shot the king, with a good deal of detail—both detail and statements being entirely fictitious. The reason Strang was shot had nothing to do with a woman, and it was not Bedford who fired the shot.

This sort of thing is damaging. It is easily done by lazy persons, and can be made to pass muster very well indeed. I recall having written, as a boy, some Indian legends about northern Michigan which were published in the old Chicago Record-Herald, and which were two-thirds made up out of my own brain. It is very easy to get a reputation on this sort of stuff, and nobody seems to rise up against it. It seems to me that the Michigan History Magazine should take a dignified position of protest against including in its own pages or giving publicity to anything of the sort that is not authentic. There is plenty of incident both romantic and authentic which may be utilized.

The knowledge involved is not difficult to obtain. What could make a finer subject for fiction, indeed, than the story of Port Sheldon and the famous Ottawa House? Few people know that story, the bubble town has disappeared, yet every particle of data may be obtained to a picture of the hotel. There is a subject for Harold Titus to take unto himself and erect into a fitting volume.

Or go back into earlier days—accuracy is no less easily obtained, and no more carelessly ignored. In some book or article recently I saw an account of the ceremony by which France took possession of this region on June 14, 1671; this account stated that after the ceremony the Indians destroyed the post and the royal arms thereon. Now, the only authority on this, outside the royal report, is Perrot. Perrot distinctly states

that the Indians removed the nails, took down the royal arms, and then replaced these after destroying the report of the ceremony placed under the metal, since they thought the writing was a charm of ill omen.

If any reader of this article will write me giving the correct site of the Miami or allied town of Maramek, he will confer a distinct favor upon me, as I cannot fix this important site correctly. Parkman places it, if I recall aright, on the Illinois river. A French map of 1720 places it north of Chicago. Miss Blair places it on the Kalamazoo river. Fr. Tailhan—I think, from memory—puts it near the Mississippi. Undoubtedly some better-informed student than I can give me the correct information on this point. I might be inclined to trust to Miss Blair's location, except that her partial translation of La Potherie was published after her death and probably for this reason is not always accurate. Nor does the Kalamazoo river site sound probable in view of the story told by Perrot; it simply doesn't fit.

For romance, some fictioneer might well build a book around Charles de Langlade, who ranks with the le Moyne brethren of Canada. And what about the period of construction in Michigan? The part taken by Michigan Indians in the Civil War is almost unknown. The epic of the Michigan copper mines, from early days to about 1870, abounds in interest. Only the other day, here in southern Indiana where I am writing, was dug up a great copper helmet of the Moundbuilders' period, complete with wings resembling those of Viking days, which must have come from Michigan. So it seems to me there is plenty of scope for the novelist in the history of Michigan, where three flags came together.

## SOME UNUSUAL RELICS IN THE MICHIGAN PIONEER MUSEUM

BY E. F. GREENMAN, PH. D.

THE list of human propensities which are classified by psychologists as "instincts" generally include self-preservation, love, hunger and so forth, but there is one human quality, well-nigh universal at the present time which has been left out of the list, namely, the collecting of relics, or "antiques."

America is one of the youngest nations of the world, but her citizens have probably expended as much money in the collection and preservation of the paraphernalia of other days as those whose history goes back many centuries further than that of America. The explanation may lie in the fact that greater changes have taken place since the discovery of the New World than in any other period in the history of the world. Single inventions have called into being new styles in dress, furniture and architecture, new kinds of implements and ornaments, not only once, but several times over again so that with regard to the things made by the hand of man to aid him in the mastery and enjoyment of life, the history of our land from the date of its discovery may be divided into at least six or seven periods, and it is but a natural law that the nearer the period to the present time the more abundant are the relics of that period.

At the present time, most of the amateur collectors are interested in "pioneer" relics, for the articles of pioneer times are most abundant, at least here in the Middle West. The Pioneer Period is remote enough to provide an interest in the relics of that period, and not so remote but that such relics may be acquired without too great a strain upon the purse. Accordingly we find collectors and museums alike interested in the mulberry and majolica wares which were so popular fifty years ago, in hair wreaths and beautiful pictures made of seeds and



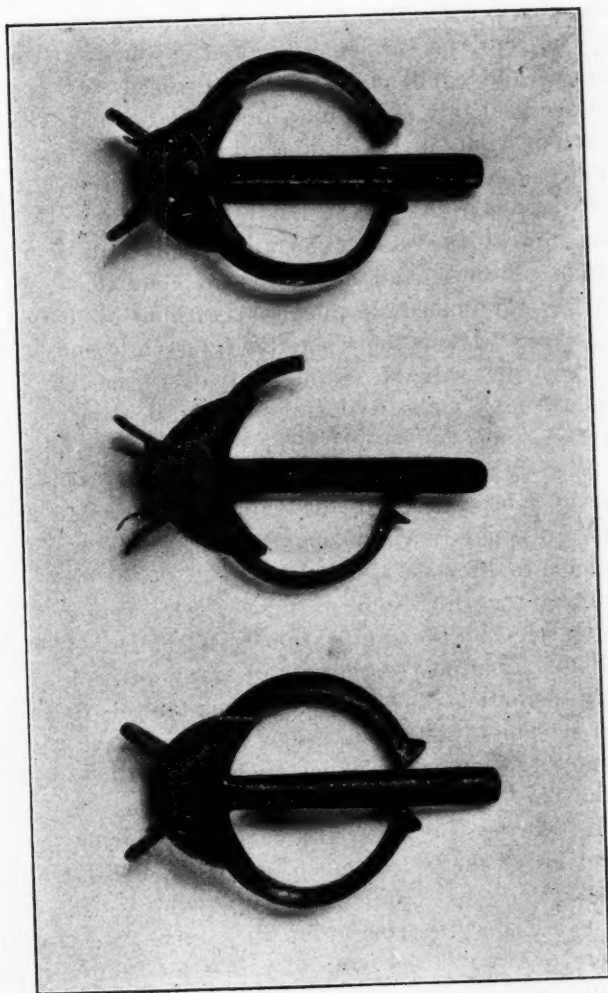


Fig. 1—Ox-yoke keys

kernels of corn, "skeleton leaves" in glass globes, daguerreotypes, bootjacks, candle sticks and candle molds, spinning-wheels, ox-yokes, walnut and cherry furniture, samplers, wall-pockets, andirons, percussion guns and so on down the list. Candlesticks and candlemolds, spinning-wheels, oxyokes and andirons are probably as popular among the collectors as any of the various kinds of relics of the pioneer days.

A number of reasons are responsible for the prevalent popularity of these articles. But the fact that they are fairly numerous and at the same time quite representative of the life of pioneer times, and suggestive of conditions not connected with their immediate purposes, without doubt play the most important part in their popularity. While such articles are attractive, and valuable in the study of a time that is past, collectors perhaps make a mistake in duplicating them too many times in their collections. There are other articles, some of them possibly not as nice to look at nor nearly as plentiful, which nevertheless are quite as valuable in a collection of antiques. Fortunately a number of these have been preserved in the Michigan Pioneer Museum.

The purpose for which some of these articles were used is not always suggested by their appearance, and much less by their names. Before reading further, how many of you are able to identify the articles in the illustrations for this discussion? Or, if you are able to tell the purpose for which each was used, do you know the names by which they were called? For example, what do the following words mean to you: Piggin, bed-wrench, ox-yoke key, sugar cutters, boot-hooks, tar bucket, froe, shakes and broad-axe? Not much, probably, unless you have seen these articles in actual use. Or possibly you have seen them in use, but were brought up in a city. Most of these things were used on farms from fifty to a hundred years ago, and so quickly does the memory of former usages pass away that there are probably not many people living on farms today who would be able to tell us what an ox-yoke key is. And it is not impossible that fifty years hence there will be only a few who will remember what a Ford key looked like.





Fig. 2—Showing the manner in which the ox-yoke key was used



Fig. 3—A tar-bucket

Three ox-yoke keys are shown in Figure 1. The two on the ends are exceedingly rare inasmuch as they have never been used, having been presented to the Museum by the owners of a hardware store in Lansing, upon whose shelves they rested many years after they had passed out of use. The one in the middle has seen service, however, and one of its arms is missing. Incidentally it might be interesting to call attention of the resemblance of the one at the left to the front view of a horned owl sitting upon a branch, or perhaps a view from the opposite of a fat cat sitting before the fire. The manner of application of an ox-yoke key is shown in Fig. 2. This is a view looking down upon the top of an ox-yoke, and the key is shown holding in place one end of the bow which goes around the neck of the animal. There are other kinds of ox-yoke keys, both of iron and wood, but these three are the only ones at present in the Museum.

In Figure 3 is a tar-bucket. This is the only specimen of its kind in the Museum, and is probably one of the few in existence. Made of wood, and not a thing which would be likely to be preserved for its aesthetic qualities, the tar-bucket is a very scarce article indeed. But uncouth as it is, and lowly as was its use, the tar-bucket is among the most honorable of antiques, for in the days of its usefulness it gave rise to a "saying," which ran, "Always behind like a tar-bucket." We can imagine the occasions which have called for this gentle bit of sarcasm, children late for school and late coming home, young men five or ten minutes late in calling upon their sweet-hearts, the sheriff a few minutes too late to catch the thief, if we may believe some of the modern versions of the old-fashioned constable, the stage coach late again, perhaps having been delayed upon a narrow road by a wagon ahead whose bucket had run out of tar, just as our modern wagons are delayed when they run out of oil.

This brings us to the use of this mysterious article, which has no more of a place in the present world than a stone axe. It was used before the introduction of iron hubs and axles to



Fig. 4—The tar-bucket with the cover off

carry the tar with which the wooden axles were painted in order to keep them smooth and hard. It was hung from the rear end of the wagon, and whenever the wheels began to squeak and turn with difficulty the driver would stop the horses, or more likely the oxen, and put a little more tar upon the ailing axle. The slow turning of the wheels would grind the tar into the wood, where it hardened and acted as a preservative of the wood as well as a lubricant.

The tar-bucket here portrayed stands eleven inches high and is four and a quarter inches in diameter on the inside, in other words, about a gallon in capacity. On the bottom of the cover is a groove, shown in Fig. 4, so made that it fits down tight over the top of the bucket to keep the dust out. Around the lower part of the bucket is an iron hoop, and the mark of another one just above it, which may have been the original position of the hoop. The bucket appears to be made of bass-wood. There are about three inches of tar in the bottom and the sides are covered with a coat of tar about a quarter of an inch in thickness. The cover is not on a hinge, being fastened to the bucket by the leather strap by which it was hung from the rear of the wagon. One can imagine the picture of long ago, a wagon going slowly down a narrow road full of ruts and deep with sand and mud, with this old tar-bucket hanging from its hook at the rear, swinging incessantly from side to side like a ship's lantern in a heavy sea. Its mission in the world of man was to be "always behind."

In Figure 5 is a piggin. Webster's Dictionary defines this word as "a small wooden pail or tub with an upright stave for a handle, often used as a dipper." It also adds that the word is of Gaelic, or Scotch, origin, and very likely the article and its name were brought to this country by the early Scotch immigrants. This work of the cooper's trade was used at a very early time in America, although a few of them were no doubt made as late as 1850.

It is generally a very difficult thing to assign the dates within which any antique article was used, unless it be the



Fig. 5—A piggin

approximate date of its most prevalent use, and this is especially true of such utilitarian objects as dippers and pails, which are always good for something even after newer forms have taken their places. Objects of art and ornamentation on the other hand enjoy for the most part but a brief period of popularity, for with them, style, the most tyrannous of all dictators, plays a very important part. But with tools and implements the human race is very conservative, and while new inventions usually are more convenient, and save time and labor, they are not always available to everybody. We have only to look around us here in Michigan to see ox-yokes and other so-called antiques still in use. There are not many, to be sure, but the writer has seen two ox-teams in widely separated parts of the State in the last ten years.

As a general rule, the farther one goes from the region in which an article was introduced and first used, the later in time does the use of the article persist. For example the piggin, like almost everything brought from Europe to America, was introduced somewhere along the Atlantic coast, and spread westward with the movement of the pioneers, to the frontier regions. Then sometime later iron and tin pails were made, with "bails," or looped handles, and introduced again along the Atlantic coast, because that was the center of population. It was some time before the new pails found their way to the frontier regions, which had in the meantime advanced farthest west, and at a certain time the iron and tin pails caught up with the piggins, theoretically on the Pacific coast, where neither could go any farther.

But another element, that of wealth, enters in here and disturbs our well-planned distribution to some extent. Long after iron and tin pails with their "bail" handles had been introduced along the Atlantic coast the piggin was undoubtedly used by those who could not afford to buy the new containers, in the same manner that we still see people driving old-fashioned buggies, and using even more primitive tools, such as the cradle-scythe, which the writer saw in use in Michi-



gan during the summer of 1927. We cannot, accordingly, say with any accuracy just when a given article disappears from use. It is fairly probable, however, that all the piggins in this country are now either in attics or museums.

This piffin which the Michigan Pioneer Museum was fortunate enough to obtain came from Williamston, Ingham County. It was purchased from an antique dealer however, which means that what is oftentimes the most valuable part of a specimen, its history, is unknown. This piffin is made of ash, and stands nineteen and one-half inches high, including the handle. The inside diameter is six and three-quarters inches. The only nails used in its construction are in the hoop around the top. The manner in which the other four hoops are fastened on may be seen in the illustration. The overlapping end of the hoop was passed through the hole in the opposite end, which lay beneath it, and held from sliding along by transverse notches on the adjacent sides of both ends. Where these notches come together, or "hook," may be seen in the second hoop from the top of the piffin, just beneath the third nail from the right in the hoop above. These wooden hoops were treated by the pioneer cooper as if they had been leather straps. They were probably put on wet, and shrunk in drying, with the final result of a water-tight vessel.

This old pioneer pail has probably seen as great a variety of service as some of the worn-out and antedated objects which we see today performing less rigorous duties than those for which they were originally made, walnut bedsteads made into porch seats, hot-water tanks doing duty as multiplex flower-boxes, and fanning-mills pressed into service, somewhat remodeled, as ash-sifters for the furnace. Just so has our piffin, after a long rest when its owner procured an iron or tin pail, during which it dried out and its seams opened up, without doubt carried many gallons of oats or corn to the horses and chickens, and then, when its unappreciative owner bought another metal pail, the piffin probably settled down another notch in the scale of usefulness and was transferred to the



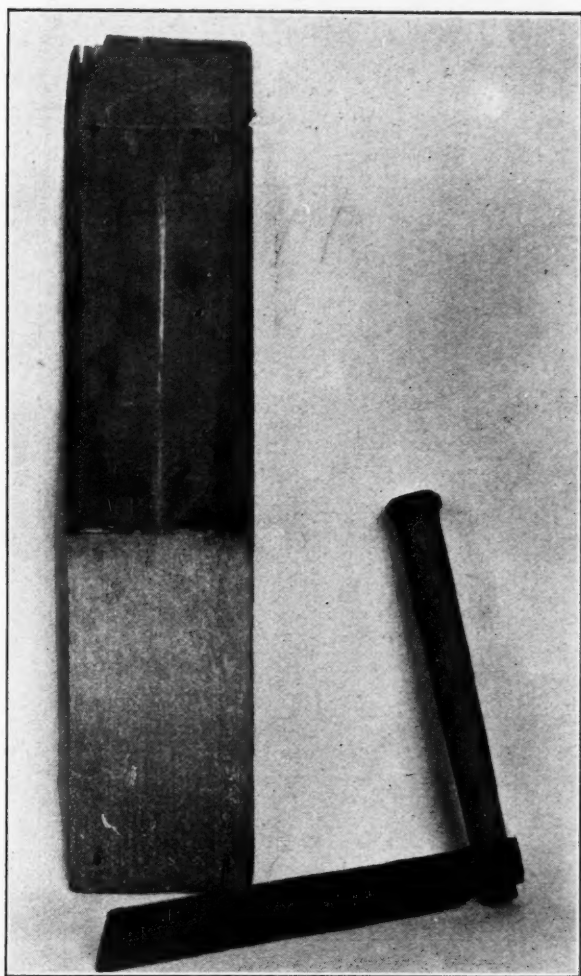


Fig. 6—A shake, and a froe with which the shakes were split

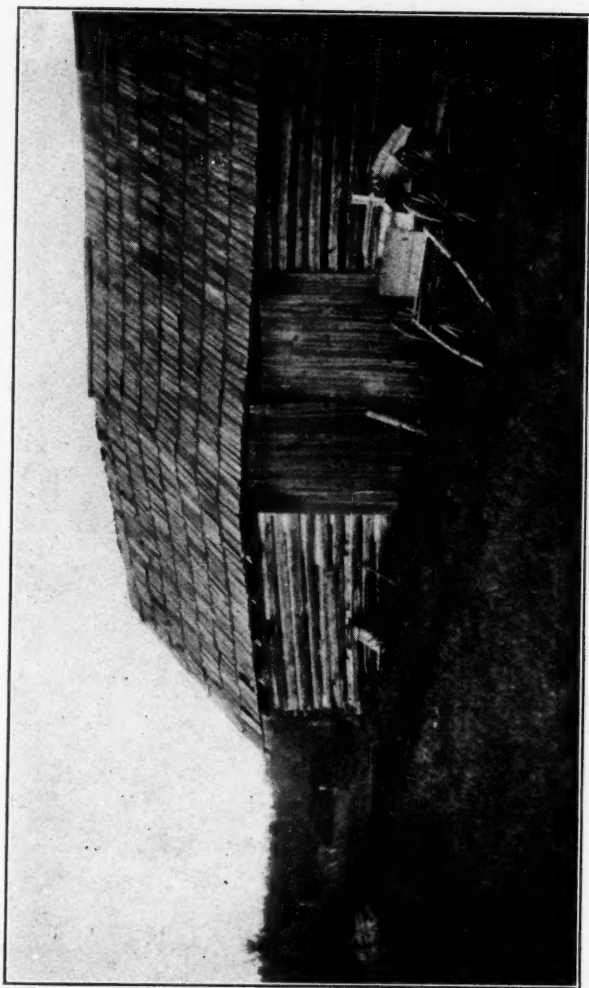


Fig. 7—Old barn in Cheboygan County on the shore of Black Lake, roofed with shakes

wood or tool shed as a receptacle for bent nails, broken ox-yoke keys and other worn out and formless bits of metal which are always accumulating around a farm. Probably during this period of its existence our piggin was much more important for holding up one end of a spider-web than for any part it played in human affairs. But still, spiders must be allowed places to fasten their webs, for they catch flies, and who will say that the usefulness of a piggin is past when it still aids in catching flies? But now the piggin is in the promised land of all superseded things, the pioneer and historical museum, and its eternal salvation is assured.

In all probability the wood or tool shed where the piggin reposed in the days of its diminished usefulness, had a roof, and it is scarcely less probable that this roof was covered with shakes, for such is the name of the precursor of the shingle in America. In Figure 6 is pictured a shake, and the implement with which shakes were split off of logs, which is called a "frow," or "froe." The word "shake" is in Webster's Dictionary, where it is described as "One of the staves of a hogshead or barrel taken apart," and a set of shakes is called a "shook," when they are bound together in compact form for future use in making a barrel, the word being derived from the more familiar term "shock." In fact a "shook" seems to be almost any bundle of boards or pieces of wood, for it is defined also as "A set of boards for a sugar box," or "The parts of a piece of house furniture, as a bedstead, packed together." The dictionary makes no mention of the use of these two terms in connection with the split shingles of pioneer times, but they were so used, shake, or shook, for the singular, and shakes or shooks for the plural.

There are occasionally references to shakes in the older volumes of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections. L. D. Watkins, in an article entitled "The Olde Log House," in Volume 26, remarks that "Early settlers will remember the tremendous clatter of a rainstorm upon these 'shakes,'

or the snow sifting through the roof, sometimes in such quantity that in the morning there would be an inch or two all over the chamber floor and bed." And in discussing "The Early History of Lenawee County," John L. Adam, in Volume 2, says that "By getting a lesson or two in shingle splitting and shaving, I made out to split and dress my own long shingles, or 'shakes' as some called them, for a log house, and afterwards for a barn and sheds." These hand-made shingles were often a source of revenue, and in Volume 21, page 672, it is described that "the people hauled their hand-shaved shingles to Lamont on ox wagons, paying fifty cents per thousand to get them there and sold them for a dollar and twenty-five cents per thousand. This left seventy-five cents for the logs and the work, and was received in store orders. Finally, George H. Hazelton, in Volume 21, writing of the times between 1836 and 1853 in Michigan, adds that "Between the years of 1840 and 1850, from the time the ground was frozen until the opening of spring, the sale of lumber was very large, especially shingles, which were sold as low as seventy-five cents per thousand. These shingles were shaved mostly by the farmers, who had scattering pine trees on their land and wanted to get rid of them; thought this the best use they could be put to, and considered clear gain, as the timber had no value for any other purpose, being so far from the mills or the river to pay for hauling, and so they went on slaughtering their pine, with no conception of its value."

The shake in the illustration is especially interesting to us as it was taken from the roof of the house in New York City, on Fordham Road and the Concourse, where Edgar Allan Poe wrote "The Raven." This house was built in 1803, and if it was not re-shingled, or perhaps we should say "re-shaken," then this old shake was split off from a pine log in that year. There are a number of log cabins and barns in various parts of Michigan, especially in the northern part, with shakes instead of shingles, and in Figure 7 is the picture of a log barn roofed with shakes, on the shore of Black Lake in Cheboygan



Fig. 8—Three axes representing successive periods in the history of Michigan

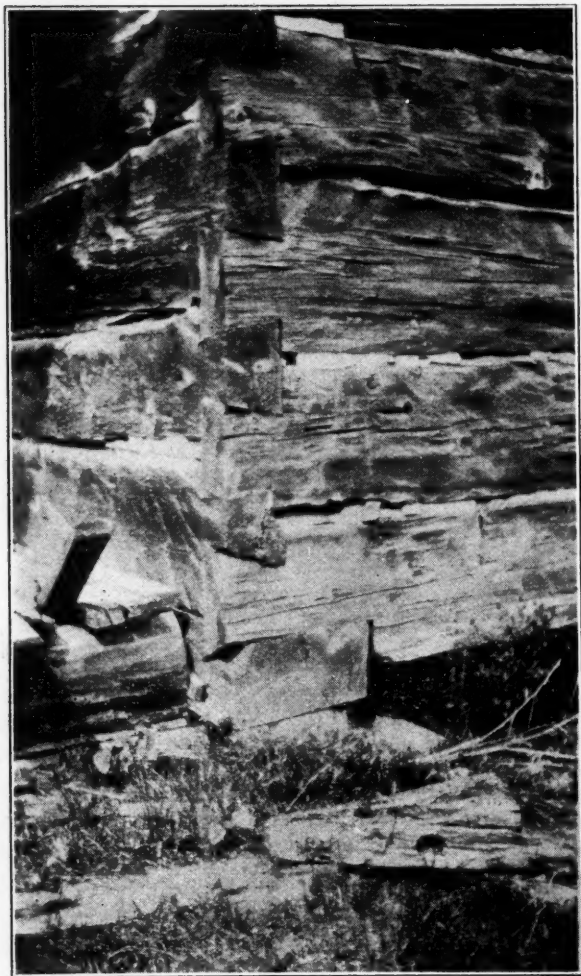


Fig. 9—Showing the corners of an old log house in Michigan,  
whose logs were hewn with a broad axe

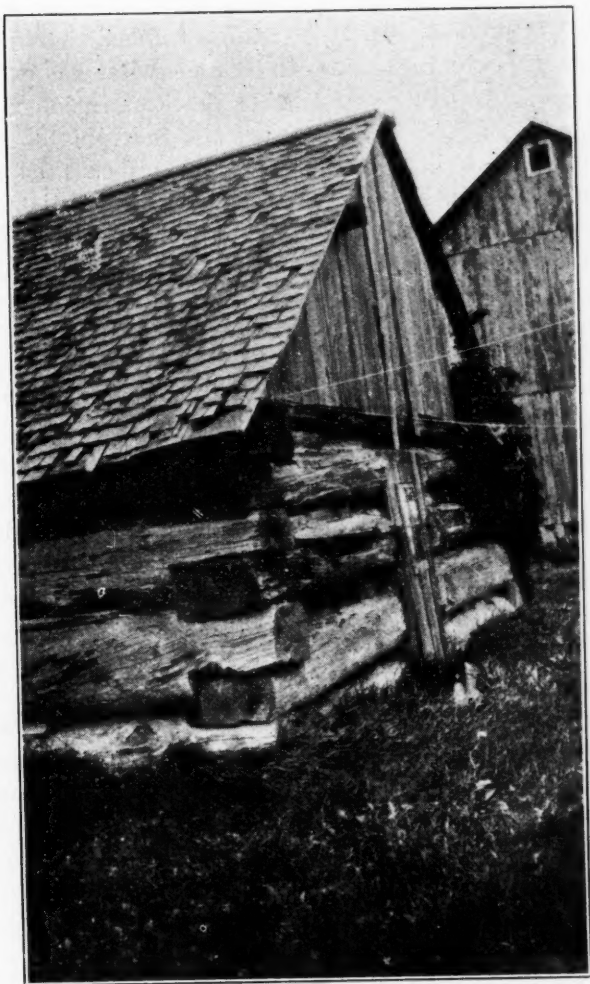


Fig. 10—The early type of log cabin, with unhewn logs.  
Missaukee County



County, Michigan, the first log barn built upon the shore of this lake. The shake from the house of Edgar Allan Poe is somewhat different from those which the writer has examined in Michigan. It will be noticed in the illustration that the lower part is painted. At the upper end it is only about one-eighth of an inch in thickness, increasing to a thickness of five-eighths of an inch down to the upper border of the painted part, but from here to the lower end it is only one-half an inch thick. In most Michigan shakes there is an unbroken increase of thickness from one end to the other, and the writer has never seen any which were painted.

The "fro" in Figure 6 is the instrument with which the shakes were split off from the log, or "bolt" of wood. This fro looks like a very ungainly implement with which to do any splitting, but it is very neatly adapted to its purpose. The edge of the tool, which is on the lower side, was laid upon the upper end of an upright bolt of wood, the handle held in one hand and the blade struck a blow with a maul, which drove it into the wood. The handle was then pulled towards the operator, which resulted in splitting the stave perhaps a foot down the bolt, the operation being repeated at the bottom of this split until a flat stave was detached. Needless to say, only straight-grained woods like pine and cedar could be used to make shakes in this manner. After a bundle of shakes was obtained, the next procedure was to shave them down to a thin edge at one end with a draw-shave. The shake in the illustration is 31 inches long, and the blade of the fro is sixteen inches long over all.

Properly speaking, there was more than one pioneer era in Michigan, although when we speak of the pioneers, we generally mean the people of European blood who came to this region for the purpose of tilling the soil, or to serve those who tilled the soil in one way or another,—the farmers, merchants, blacksmiths, lawyers, doctors and preachers and all of those whose occupations and trades had a place so far from the centers of civilization along the Atlantic coast.

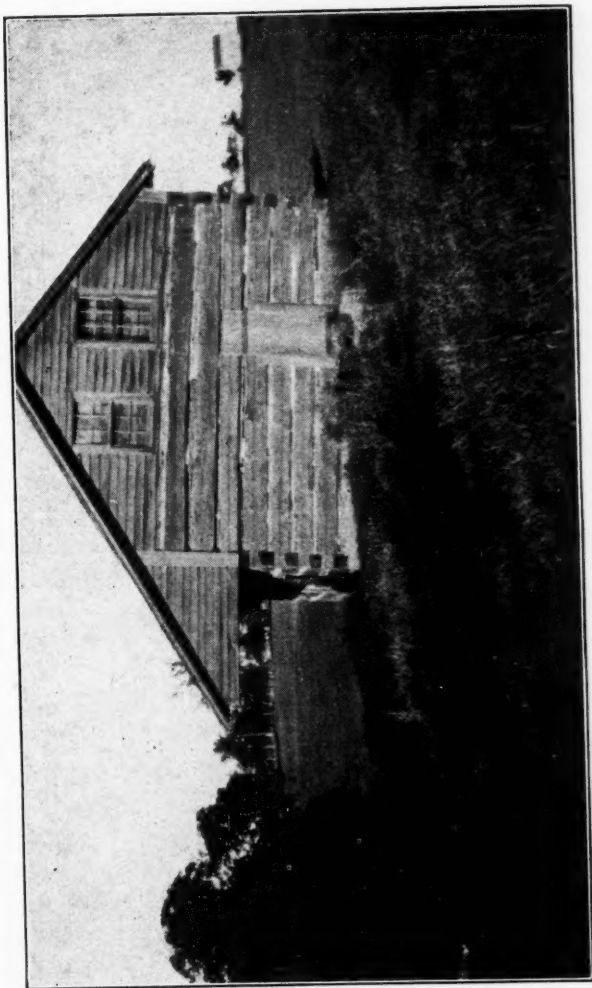


Fig. 11—The later type of log house, with hewed logs, and a "porch." Iosco County

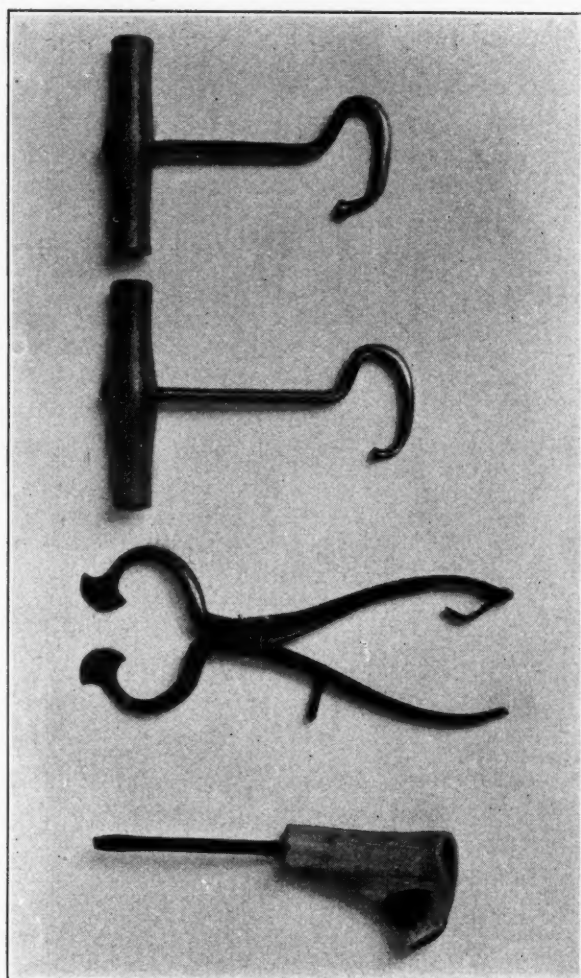


Fig. 12—From left to right: Horn-handled screw-driver, sugar-cutters, and boot-hooks

But before these people came, the explorers and the fur-traders, and before them by thousands of years came the Red man from across the Pacific. In Figure 8 are three axes each of which represents one of these periods in the occupation of Michigan by human beings. At the right is a stone axe of a type which is found almost exclusively in the Lower Peninsula of Michigan, and for this reason it is known in archaeological literature as the "Michigan axe." This axe is made of granite, nicely polished, and is about eight inches in length. It has but one blade, but occasionally a double-bitted "Michigan axe" is found. Nothing is known of the date of the period during which this axe was used, but it is certain at least that its owner and maker belonged to that race of men which first inhabited the area now comprised by the State of Michigan. It was probably used for a number of purposes, cutting down trees with the aid of fire, splitting off pine or cedar boards much in the same manner as it was done later with the froe in Figure 6, and it is not improbable that it was used as a weapon upon occasion.

To the left of this grooved stone axe is an iron "trade axe." These trade axes were exchanged by the early French and English fur-traders to the Indians for pelts and other desirable commodities. Such axes as these quickly superseded the stone axe in all of its uses and were of first importance in aiding the aborigines in their transition from the age of stone to the age of iron. With the advent of the next era in the history of this region came several new types of axes, each one specialized for a particular duty, and at the right of Figure 8 is a "broad axe," significant of log dwellings and barns where people lived sedentary lives and stored their produce and kept their domestic animals. The broad axe was used to dress down the logs for log houses and for making the frame of barns, a crude sort of plane, with its broad edge and bent handle. It took the place of a circle-saw driven by a steam engine however very efficiently. The wielder of a broad axe stood at one side of the log, which was elevated a few inches off of the ground



Fig. 13.—A boot-jack

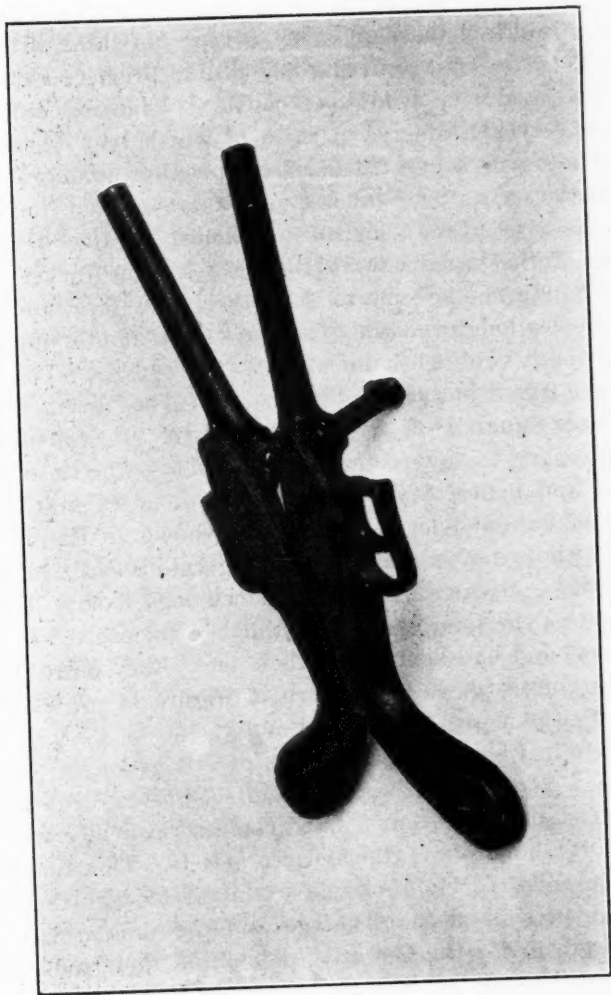


Fig. 14—The boot-jack in Figure 13 opened up

on blocks, and hacked away at the side of the log along a line which was drawn from one end to the other. The bend of the handle, beginning almost at the edge of the axe, enabled him to strike into the grain of the wood from his position at one side, and minimized the danger of barking his shins with the blade of the axe. It required considerable practice to wield a broad axe and men who were constantly hewing out logs attained a very high degree of skill, of which they were very proud. There was a great deal of competition among skilled hewers in the days of log houses, just as at a later time and even to the present day log-rolling almost became a sport. The blade of the broad axe in Figure 8 is nine inches in a straight line from one end to the other, and the handle is nineteen inches long over all. The end of the handle opposite the axe is about two inches out of line.

In Figure 9 is a picture of the corner of a log cabin whose timbers were squared off with a broad axe. It was not of course necessary to square the logs in order to make a good log house, and many of the agricultural pioneers first lived in houses of unhewed logs, like the one shown in Figure 10, which is a picture of one of the first log cabins built in Missaukee County, Michigan. But the hewn logs looked better, and as soon as the pioneers had established themselves in the new country, and had "gotten on their feet," they built themselves such houses as the one shown in Figure 11, which still stands in Tawas Township, Iosco County.

At the left in Figure 12 is a very interesting pioneer tool, a horn-handled screwdriver. Horn-handled knives are to be found in most museums, but a hand-made screwdriver with a handle of deer horn is a rather scarce article. This tool has a special interest, for in its construction it bridges the gap between the present mechanical age and the time when our forebears were under the necessity of making their tools and household articles out of the raw materials which they found about them in the wilderness. This screwdriver with its handle of horn speaks of a certain definite period, of a short



duration, when, in a certain locality, metal screws had appeared upon the scene but factory-made screwdrivers with well-made wooden handles were not yet readily obtainable.

At the right of Figure 12 are two "boot-hooks." They are probably a pair, although one is a little longer than the other. These are relics of the days, not so far in the past, when the farmers wore leather boots. These boots fitted rather tightly and while they had straps on the inside at the top with which to pull them on, it was impossible to get a good hold on them with the fingers, and so these hooks with their ample handles were used. Boot-hooks however are in use today, like candles, practically without any improvement over these in the illustration, in drawing on riding boots, which are even tighter than the old leather boots of former times. In Figure 13 is another article whose use was connected with the wearing of boots. If it were not for this article, which is a bootjack, the boot-hooks could be accused of starting something which could not be finished, for if leather boots were hard to put on, it was equally difficult to get them off. At first glance the bootjack in Figure 13 appears to be a double-barreled pistol, but it is a bootjack, as will be seen by looking at Figure 14, where it is shown opened up and in the proper position to assist in removing a boot. This type of bootjack was probably very popular with travelers who wore leather boots since it occupies less space than the average iron or wooden bootjack, when folded up.

The remaining object in Figure 12, which looks like a very peculiar pair of scissors, is a pair of "sugar cutters," used in pioneer times for cutting maple sugar up into small squares for convenient storage and use. During the first half of the nineteenth century cane sugar was very expensive and could be purchased only by paying cash. This condition led to a considerable amount of maple sugar making in Michigan, especially before the maple forests were largely depleted to make way for crops. The materials involved in making maple sugar were inexpensive, the time of year was one in which there

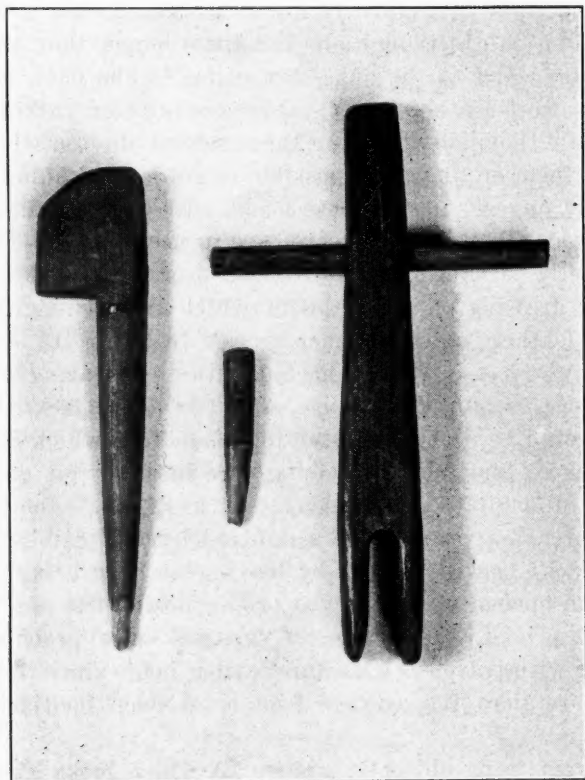


Fig. 15—Bed-wrench and two pins, used to tighten the ropes  
on the old-fashioned rope beds

was little or no other work to do, and so maple sugar came to be the poor man's sugar to a considerable extent. With this many of the pioneers sweetened their tea and coffee and made their pies. Anyone who has eaten an apple pie made with maple sugar will tell you that apple pie should never be made any other way. Like popcorn and apples, or lamb chops and mint sauce, maple sugar and apple pie are part and counterpart. But if anyone should be moved in reading these words to try the experiment, he must be cautious, for maple sugar was more plentiful in former times than it is now, and while there is sugar in molasses it is accompanied by a flavor that is as foreign to maple sugar as it is detrimental to apple pie. Most everyone is familiar with the preparation of maple sugar and the way in which it is cooled and hardened in shallow pans. While the sugar was still soft in the pan it would be divided into squares by shallow markings with a knife or other implement, and then when the time came, the sugar cutters in Figure 12 were used to break the squares off.

In Figure 15 at the top is a bed-wrench, which we have saved till the last, for in any collection of unusual pioneer tools the bed-wrench is among the most unique and, to an uninitiated younger generation, perhaps the most unexplainable. In moving picture comedies it always brings a laugh to see a man get out of bed, take out a kit of tools and crawl under the bed to fix the springs as if some mechanical disturbance had interrupted his journey to the land of Nod. But the pioneers did not have to crawl under the bed to use the bed-wrench, for its purpose was to tighten up the ropes which formed the springs of the old rope-beds. The manner of its application is not readily demonstrable in words, nor even with illustrations, and we can only say that, where the ropes passed through the round bars at the foot and head of the bed, the notched end was inserted, between the rope and the bar, given a twist, which resulted in tightening the rope. Then the pin, at the bottom in the illustration was inserted into the hole, holding the rope. This process was repeated at the next place

along the bar where the rope came through, and so on at the foot and head of the bed until the end of the rope was reached, where a knot was tied. The small pin in the middle of the picture is just another variety of pin like the one at the bottom, which is so shaped at the blunt end that the hand may strike it a blow, sending it tightly into the hole.

This brings our discussion of unusual pioneer articles to an end, although there are many more such articles in the Museum, and we shall hope to present them to the readers of the Michigan History Magazine in the future. These things are eminently worth collecting, for they are interesting and full of variety, and a collector of antiques who is fortunate enough to obtain several of each one of them representing the variations due to improvements, and to the individual preferences of their pioneer makers, has a collection of which he may be proud.

## PIONEERS OF ST. JOSEPH COUNTY

BY WARREN C. HULL

LANSING

**B**EFORE a fire place stands a vigorous woman. She watches a kettle of hominy hanging near the glowing backlog. In her dexterous hands she holds a crude distaff and rapidly adds to the hemp cord she is spinning. A child is cradled at her feet in a hollowed log which will soon serve as a sap trough, for the days are lengthening. The clusters of herbs hanging from the logs above are nearly stripped of their leaves. The seed corn, suspended by its husks is safe. Soon they will need it, but the bedraggled blanket that has served as a door need not be mended until fall. A moist, fragrant smoke hangs low in the valley. From the prairie it floats through the forest toward the river. Her man has gone out with the aged and crippled warriors to burn the moist leaves of grass about the homes and wigwams. Later when the sun is hot and the spring winds blow they will burn the dry grass safely, for they are building their spring fire wall, by burning where the fire must not pass. From his Indian friends her man has learned to trap and fish and hunt, and he in turn has taught them many things, for he has lived among them, since the treaty of '21. He has traded with these friendly Potawatomis and taken their furs, dried venison and herbs to the post; a long, long trail. Now by treaty the Indians are to go far to the West and the white man will come. Those who have known this valley along the Miami of the lakes have seen in it the Eden of the world. Such air and song and luxury of growth is nowhere else. In the magic circle where the eyes can penetrate the crystal waters of the St. Joseph River there fish are seen, and along the surface in season the gar and pike make their way against the peaceful current. They will nest in the little rivulets that feed the river. Fish a plenty. Huge sturgeon as big as a man will hang in the

chimney until winter comes again. Its ribs make good fish hooks for perch and blue gills.

Today there are more hunters in Michigan than when the forests were the home of the Indian. But the game is disappearing from the prairies and along the river courses. The birch bark is replaced by the Newtown canoe with a Victrola. Did the Indian fashion a special boat for his sweetheart to float with him upon the placid lake in the moonlight? I doubt not at all that he did, for I suppose that love in the forest was as full of delight and romance as our own loves that alone have made life worth while.

But now the noble giant of the forest has been riven by the blast. We may see him lonely against the sky line upon the hill top but when the tempest of progressing civilization passed, we see him no more forever; for in his place by the magic of achievement, appear the towers of human comfort, and the iron of his blood is therein. Who would call back the open fire except for romance? And the wigwam's only memory is in the tourist camp.

A description of 100 years ago of the territory where we are reads like the advertisement of a fervent saint who would sell a city lot in the New Jerusalem. No words were too extravagant to describe the beauty of the location and so the letters that went back to the East were full of attractiveness and convinced people back in the old home that Michigan was the place for them to make their new abode.

I recently sent out a number of letters to the superintendents of schools in this county and other people I thought would give intelligent answers, asking an estimate of the per cent of children in the schools who were descendents of the pioneers of St. Joseph County. The answers ranged from forty to sixty per cent. The spirit of the pioneers of St. Joseph County was as worthy as that of the Puritans of New England. Their high purpose, nobility of character, cleanliness of life, were promises to posterity of the splendid achievements history has recorded for this county. The time has come when a history of St. Joseph County is due and it would



be a worthy life work for some ambitious young man or woman to compile the history that has here been wrought. Some of the noblest characters of American history have sprung from our pioneers. While war is always an immeasurable calamity, yet in the nature of events we must honor our great warriors. I need only mention such names as Generals Stoughton, Bandholtz and Baldwin of St. Joseph County. In the 150 years of American independence the Congress of the United States has conferred upon but seven men two Congressional medals each. Two of these distinguished soldiers were from Michigan, General Custer of Monroe, and General Baldwin, whose early life was spent in St. Joseph County. Before he enlisted in the Civil War, he was a printer in my father's printing office. He would be more noted here in Michigan if he had not spent the latter part of his life in Colorado. He was a man of such splendid attainments that I marvel that no detailed history of his achievements has been written.

In a recent conversation with our venerable ex-Supreme Judge Moore, now past four score years, high encomiums were given to George L. Yaple, W. W. Peeler, Edwin W. Keightley and Epaphroditus Ransom. As time passes I believe that the life of John S. Barry will be looked upon with increasing veneration. His belief was that education would eradicate slavery. He was one of the first in America to propose the making of sugar from beets. He was a public economist and the man who sought the largest good for the largest number.

Finally with no pretense on my part that I can name the men who have made this county what it is today, I would say that I believe no great achievement was ever accomplished except it was first planned in the heart of some high minded citizen, and that all good must first be born in man's spirit and then be wrought out in man's life. And the best things accomplished reach out from the individual, into the community, and one true leader can accomplish marvels. When Napoleon said that in America he could only have been a Washington, a king among kings, he dug down deep into the heart of America and American spirit.



## THE FOLK OF OUR TOWN

(A sociological study of Walled Lake, Michigan)

BY HENRY O. SEVERANCE

(Librarian, University of Missouri)

Illustrations by Will H. Collins

(Assistant Librarian)

(Continued from Spring Number and condensed by the editor)

THE professional men of our town owned but few books, and these bore on their respective professions; our citizens rarely enjoyed an education above that offered in the "district school". A farmer living about three miles from town was reported to have a small library and a few magazines and newspapers. He had a son who was a prodigy in acquiring knowledge, entering the Pontiac high school and finishing the four year course in two years. The Butcher received a set of Macaulay's *History of England* with his subscription to the *Detroit Free Press* and read it diligently. His son Henry, twelve years of age, read it too; there were no children's books in this or any other home, except one book which the Butcher's sons called the "Gudham book," from the story about "old man Gudham;" and other stories and poems, such as "The Old Man in the Wood," the first stanza of which ran,

The old man in the wood who  
Thought he could do more work in a day  
Than his wife could do in three.

One misty moisty morning  
When cloudy was the weather,  
I chanced to meet a man  
Clothed all in leather.  
He began to smile  
And I began to grin  
How do you do and  
How do you do and  
How do you do again.

The "district school," was on a hill overlooking the town about forty rods north of the Town Pump. The school house faced east on the road running north toward Pontiac; a building 30x40 feet, made of native stone—"hard heads" which had been broken and faced with stone hammers and laid up in quick lime mortar. There were three windows on either side, two at the back, and a wide door in front which opened into a vestibule with a door on either side, the north one for the boys, the south for the girls. In the corners were hooks and shelves for caps, coats, books, and dinner pails. On the boys' side was the cord of wood for the old wood stove which occupied the center of the school room. A long wide board bench ran the length of each side of the school room. There were two rows of double desks on either side of the room, and a center row from the stove to the back. The boys sat on the north side, the girls on the south; the older pupils sat at the desks in the rear. When classes were called to the front to recite, these pupils sat on the front seats and side benches. The teacher's desk was on a raised platform in front, and back of it was the blackboard.

There were about forty pupils in the school. There was school five days a week from fall to spring. School began at nine o'clock and closed at four in the afternoon, with an hour for dinner and a recess of fifteen minutes in both forenoon and afternoon. The beginners came at nine and remained till four p. m. and recited A.B.C.'s twice a day. They learned the letters singly first, then in words, and it was hard for children to sit all day, theoretically studying a few letters and words. They were not taught by pictures and sentences as now. Addition and subtraction were equally theoretical. Pupils learned to recite the multiplication table from memory. There was no story telling. The children had their graded readers and drilled on reading aloud to the class and the teacher, an oral exercise rather than a mental one. One of the best mental exercises for the older pupils was the course in Stoddard's Mental Arithmetic in which the pupils were

required to work problems without pencil or paper. The school was strong in practical Arithmetic, but only fair in reading, grammar and history. It was excellent in spelling, due to the weekly game of "spelling down;" also in geography, owing to the game of "Geographical facts" played two or three times a week. The game was similar to "spelling down;" each pupil gave a fact such as the capital of a country, location of a city, cape, or isthmus; if the name or the location were incorrect the pupil would be counted out. There was no singing, no marching, no busy work for the fingers. Pupils were supposed to study all the time, and not whisper to seat-mates; infraction of this rule incurred the penalty of "the ferule on the hand."

The pupils made the most of the recesses, playing outdoor games, such as "Duck On the Rock", "Horseshoes," "One Old Cat," "Pom, Pom, Pull Away" and the like, while the older pupils would gather around the stove, the girls on one side, the boys on the other, and talk about parties which had been and which were to be, etc. This was the time of the autograph album when nearly every boy and girl had one to pass around to get signatures and mottoes. The little conferences around the old wood stove provided a favorite time for Dora to ask John to write in her album. Here are some sentiments of the day which are in the writer's album:

I will not write you a sermon, but give you a text which please remember. "Honor and shame from no conditions rise. Act well your part, there all the honor lies".

The legs of the lame are not equal.  
So is a parable in the mouth of fools.

Like the play is fortune given,  
Sometimes "odd" and sometimes "even".

Our lives should be like the day, growing more beautiful toward the evening.

On the broad highway of action  
Friends of worth are far and few,  
So when one has proved his friendship  
Cling to him who clings to you.

Count that day lost whose low descending sun  
Views from thy hand no worthy action done.

The teachers in our district school were more mature than teachers in district schools in 1928. There was Sadie Bicking, a most gracious young woman; all the children loved her; she treated them kindly but firmly, kept them clean and bundled them up when they left for home. Riley Keith was a farmer teacher living near Union Lake; a mild man, who taught the District School in our town one winter and made a lasting impression upon the writer by awarding him a prize for spelling down the school. This prize, a little book called "Seven Oaks," is still cherished in remembrance of Riley Keith. Frank Erwin taught the school several winters, and he also was a farmer, a man of ability and energy. He had a keen mind, ready wit, and was well informed on current topics. He kept good order in the school, punishing severely any infraction of the rule that pupils must not whisper. Pupils had to get their lessons too. Mr. Erwin had taken a trip to Washington, D. C. on a Pullman, had eaten on a "diner", had a wonderful trip, and the boys never tired of hearing about it. His stories were more interesting than the text books. When he wished to emphasize the power of the mind over the body, he would tell the story of his father who broke off the habit of chewing tobacco while carrying a plug of tobacco in his pocket. He was an inspiring teacher and his school had the record of being the best district school in our county.

The folk of our town were religious, but they were not all church goers. The young people as well as the older accepted the theology of the time without serious question and enjoyed all the church had to offer spiritually and socially. Evangelists frequently emphasized the horrors of everlasting hell, to get people into the church. I remember an extremist of this kind, Rev. H. O. Wills of Detroit, who once held a meeting at the Free Will Baptist Church in Wixom and covered the walls of the church with placards on which were pictures of the wicked burning up in sulphurous smoke. Pictures of Dante's *Inferno* are tame compared with these. The horrors

depicted were indelibly stamped on the minds of the children. The pastors in our town were more conservative, nevertheless firm in their conviction that all men were sinners on Adam's account and that they must repent to be saved. They emphasized rewards, as well as punishments. They preached a loving Father, but a stern father who cared for his children and wanted all of them to be saved. The young people came from the Sunday School into the church without questioning the current beliefs.

The "little deacon," the Butcher's boy, was in great demand Sunday mornings. His father owned a span of small reddish brown mules; the "little deacon" would hitch a mule to the buckboard and take his mother to church, then go a half mile to bring in the elder's wife, and then possibly would get some one else. The mule was then tied in the church shed to wait until the close of Sunday School. One thing the mule hated was to stay to church and when his buckboard was loaded and he was headed for home, he lost no time in getting there. One morning, as he rounded the corner, just outside the church gates, he went so fast that the baby brother of the "little deacon" was thrown from his mother's lap and landed, unhurt, in front of the church.

The Sunday School sessions were held from twelve noon to one p. m. in the auditorium of the churches. In the Baptist Church, the school assembled for opening exercises immediately after "preaching". Then the pupils separated into classes, all in the one room; on the back seats the adult Bible class; in the front the small children; on the East side a class of older boys; on the west a class of older girls; with three other classes distributed to the choir loft and other places in the church. After the lesson period came the reports of the classes, attendance, money contributed; and then the superintendent, Mr. Van Hosner, would emphasize what he called "the point" of the lesson. It was probably the personality of the teachers that most helped the pupils. The boys of the class which was taught a year or so by Mrs. Donaldson have

never forgotten her radiant personality. She was young, full of life, devoted, loved the boys, entertained them in her home two miles in the country. She was stricken with consumption.

The Sunday School was attractive; we all wanted to attend. The superintendent put energy and intelligence into the work, provided picnics in the summer and Christmas tree exercises in the winter. The picnic on the Fourth of July at Orchard



The Fourth of July Picnic

Lake was one never to be forgotten. It was announced four weeks ahead, and committees were appointed to look after details. At nine o'clock we gathered at the church and a wagon drawn by three teams drove up, horses and wagon decorated with flowers, twigs, and small American flags. The driver sat on the high seat a-top of the box and held two lines for each span. The driver was a wonder, the crowd was happy, the nine mile drive passed quickly, and they found themselves jumping out of the wagon at a little grove across



the road from the old Orchard Lake hotel. The picnic dinner over, there were games. Some of the boys went to a large grove across the street where some organization was celebrating the Fourth of July. There were patriotic addresses; a distinguished looking man was speaking; he had just reached a climax when a false tooth which had been shaken from its mooring by so much oratory dropped down into his mouth; without stopping he caught the tooth, dropped it into his vest pocket, and "rambled right along." We were attracted by the old fiddler over by the lake shore who kept calling out something like "change your partners," "swing your partners to the right" and so on, and we watched the fathers and mothers and young people dance, and we questioned, "What's the harm?" We had been taught that dancing was a sin and that we should avoid it as we would "small pox." At four o'clock we were bound for home. It had been a great day.

The next great day, a long way off, was Christmas when there would be Christmas songs, recitations, stories, and class exercises and above all the Christmas Tree! These exercises were held at night. The tree was decorated with candles and presents for the children. The trees were large, the top fifteen feet above the floor, and branches extending six to ten feet in every direction. The presents given by parents, and by teachers, and by classes and by friends were suspended from the branches of the tree, or in case of large packages, laid at the base. Then Santa Claus would call off the names on the packages and the boys and girls appointed ushers would distribute them.

There was no young people's society such as B. Y. P. U. and Christian Endeavor in our churches, and there was not the harmony and cooperation which churches in the same town enjoy now. A few young people met in the Baptist Church one Sunday afternoon and organized as an interdenominational young people's society which was to meet every Sunday afternoon for devotional purposes in the Baptist and Methodist churches alternately. This movement was frowned upon by



the church people; our elders said that this was a "courting society" and that the only reason for meeting was that the boys and girls might meet and go walking together. So the organization disbanded and the churches were deprived of the cooperation of the young people.

The folk of our town called our ministers "elders"; it was Elder Welcker, Elder Blood and Elder Howd; they were our leaders and had our confidence. Elder Welcker was pastor of the Baptist Church; a good man, sympathetic with the poor and suffering but uncompromising in his theological



The Baptism

beliefs. He preached the funeral sermon of Henry Palmer who was frozen to death on that fatal ride from Novi when he was under the influence of liquor, taking for his text, "Nor—drunkard shall enter into heaven"; the sermon was a crushing blow for the wife and relatives, no hope of the possibility of Henry's "Salvation."

Elder Welcker was eager to baptize new converts, winter or summer, very soon after their conversion; he appeared to be afraid of losing a convert if he should wait for the ice in the lake to melt. Deacon Howard lived on the lake shore on the west side of town, and baptisms generally took place opposite his house about one hundred feet from shore. In the winter of 1876 Elder Welcker baptized about a dozen boys and men in the lake; the ice was thick; workmen removed it from an area of six by eight feet, pushed a ladder of steps down into the water until the end rested on the lake

bottom and the top projected a foot or more above the ice. The congregation after the morning service on Sunday gathered at Deacon Howard's, the braver ones about the hole in the ice. The candidates dressed for baptism in the house, ran out one at a time to the hole, then back after immersion. Elder Welcker went down into the ice water and stayed waist deep until he baptized the four Severance boys, Joe and Jim Seamark, Dr. Chapman, Charley Pratt, and six others, and it did not kill him! He was made of stern stuff; so were the boys and men of our town.

The Baptist Church gave Elder Welcker a "slender salary" and one donation a year; the annual donation was a great event, and was usually held at the Elder's home. It was his open house for the church. The members came, the adults to visit, the young folk and children to play games. Every family brought a gift. The farmers brought potatoes, flour, butter, eggs, poultry, for the family, and hay and grain for the pony; the town people brought groceries, canned fruit, jam and other "goodies". The gifts which Sunday Schools now bring for the poor on Thanksgiving Day remind one of the donations to pastors fifty years ago, except the children are told what to bring. Fifty years ago church members donated in produce what they wished to give, the trustees appraised it, and made the record that the donation was equivalent to so many dollars towards the salary.

There was an elder in our town who was not a pastor, a man of middle age, reddish brown hair, well preserved. He raised part of his family's living in gardens, but he seemed to take life rather easy. He was usually at the services of the Baptist Church. He was noted for his prayers. He would kneel in the aisle of the church or within the pew, sit back on his heels, clasp his hands in front, raise his face toward the ceiling and with closed eyes and loud voice he would begin "Battering the gates of heaven with storms of prayer." He seemed a wonderful man to the boys; they were confident the Lord, wherever he might be would hear him and grant

his request on account of his "much speaking" if for no other reason. He had more talent for prayer than for leadership.

As might be expected the social activities of our town centered in the churches, and the games and plays in private homes were the same as those enjoyed at the church socials. There was a party at the McKinney's two miles from town. It was a winter night. The young people began to arrive in their sleighs and cutters at 7:30 p. m.; horses were unhitched and put into the barn out of the wind; after a half hour's visit with the arriving guests, games began with "the needle's eye." A girl and a boy would stand facing each other with hands above their heads forming an arch by grasping right and left hands. The younger people taking hold of hands would then march single file under the arch, singing

The needle's eye that doth supply  
The thread that runs so truly,  
Many a lass have I let pass  
Because I wanted you.

The arms would fall on the word "you" and catch a girl whom the boy would *kiss*. (Few games without kisses in those days!) The march would continue and another lass or lad would be caught. Then the "stage coach," and "fruit basket," and "Snap and Catch 'em," a very popular kissing game. Following these games they would play "Happy is the Miller," which was a grand march; girls on the right, boys on the left, sang lustily

Happy is the miller who lives by the mill,  
The mill turns round of its own free will.  
Hand in the hopper and the other in the bag,  
When the mill turns round he cries out "grab."

Whereupon the boy grabbed the arm of the girl ahead of him. Then some guessing games, to give the party a rest; refreshments were served about eleven o'clock; after which came "London Bridge is falling" and "King William was King James' son," and "The road is broad, the way is clear, Michigan girls come volunteer." Then Forfeits; the player holding

an article above the head of the judge who was blindfolded, said:

"Heavy, heavy hangs over your head."

Judge: "Fine or superfine?"

Player: "Superfine. What must the owner do to redeem it?"

Judge: "Kneel to the wittiest, bow to the prettiest, kiss the one you love best."

The party broke up about midnight. This was a typical one.

There were occasional dances in the ball room of the hotel, to which most of the young people were forbidden, however, as the dance was "such a wicked amusement." The dance parties came mostly from nearby towns and from the country. The violin music and the sonorous directions of the caller were fascinating to the boys on the street, who would stand and listen to the fiddler and the caller for hours. Above the music one could hear, "Salute your partner—First four right and left—Ladies change—Forward four—Swing your partners back to place—Dos si dos—Sachez all and alaman left."

Entertainments in the churches during the winter months, and the singing schools, added to the fun. Once in one of these school entertainments there developed some differences of opinion between the leader and the members of the quartette in regard to the number of beats in a measure. The quartette would start, when the leader would stop them, "There are four beats in this measure." Tom, the bass singer, said, "there are only three," and things were warming up when Tom stepped back of the curtain and brought forth a peck measure in which were three red beets; much merriment at the leader's expense. Palmer Hartsough of Plymouth associated with a music publisher of Cincinnati conducted singing schools of two weeks duration in our town from year to year.

Many were the outdoor games and sports. On Saturday afternoon the boys played baseball in the lot west of the school house. Picnics under the auspices of the church were

held in the grove on the lake shore, and ice cream socials on the lawns. There was the old song,

What's more fun than a picnic party,  
With the victuals all over the ground,  
With the ants in the milk and bugs in the butter  
And the mosquitos buzzing around.

Swimming was too common for swimming parties but groups of boys enjoyed the lake east of town at a point where the water was shallow and approached deep water gradually. Lake sports were enjoyed in winter time when the lake was covered with ice sometimes two feet deep; numerous moonlight skating parties; the whole town and the neighboring towns were on the lake Saturday afternoons. "Pom-Pom-Pull-away," and "Fox and Geese" were games played on the ice. Then there were the ice-boats. Two of the boys made a triangular ice boat with steel runners; a large mast was erected in front and a large sail attached; the wind would catch the sail and away it would go across the lake, reaching a velocity of fifty or sixty miles an hour in a good breeze. There were usually some trotting races. Clark Jones was usually there with his little bay mare which was seldom outdistanced by any horse in our community. Some were out for cutter rides on the ice. The road from Novi was changed from the shore to a straight line across the lake.

The hill in front of the Baptist Church was a favorite for coasting parties. Often the older boys would improvise coasting sleds out of a bob-sled; the coasters would develop sufficient momentum coming down the hill to take them across the road to the ice on the lake.

The men had a gun club which met for a time in the fall and spring on one afternoon a week in Moore's pasture beyond the cemetery for practice, for shooting matches. At first they used live birds, which were shot out of a trap one at a time high into the air; just when the bird opened its wings, the marksman fired; and few birds escaped. Later glass globes or shells were substituted for birds, thrown about fifteen

feet into the air by a spring trap so that the marksman with quick aim could smash the glass bulb into a thousand pieces. It was a popular sport and crowds were out to see the fun.

There was the circus, and the county fair. Forepaugh's Circus was the great event of the season; everybody went who could find the money. The show was in Pontiac twelve miles away, a drive of an hour and a half. The parade was generally at eleven o'clock. We boys got out early. We had to wait for our girls and then had to wait in Pontiac two or three hours for the parade. But when it did come, wasn't it great! We kids had the time of our lives looking at the animals and the two ring circus, the horseback rides, the trained elephants, the trapeze performers and all the rest. The circus was one of the never-to-be-forgotten events in our lives.

Next to the circus were the county fairs where old acquaintances met and friends and neighbors visited and lunched together while the boys and girls saw the side shows, the horse races and enjoyed other pleasures too numerous to mention.

The folk of our town took their politics, like their religion, in a matter of fact way. The republicans looked with complacency on the few democrats in their midst. The interest in national elections was sufficient nevertheless to keep our leaders up all night in Wixom listening to returns sent over the wire from the election which chose James A. Garfield for President of the United States.



## HISTORY OF THE MICHIGAN STATE FEDERATION OF WOMEN'S CLUBS

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### GETTING INTO THE HEART OF THINGS

BY IRMA T. JONES

LANSING

THE Departments of work were somewhat changed during the Grand Rapids Convention. In her word of Greeting, the president, Mrs. Josephine M. Gould urged the completion of the Lucinda Hinsdale Stone Memorial Fund,—the memorial gift to the State University, saying,—“Let no single club lose the privilege of contributing to a gift that will, when rightly cared for and properly used, be a continually growing thing, pushing its roots deeper and spreading its boughs wider as the swift years pass.”

An earnest message from the General Federation was also given:—“Strive for the betterment of the wage-working child for the hope of the State lies in her children. Help the wage-working woman to a chance to bear a part and to enjoy with you and elevate the standard of right living and to keep the home, the heart of the nation inviolate.”

The midyear meeting of the Board of Managers was held in Hastings April 6 and 7 by invitation of Mrs. Frances Wheeler Smith. The new Board organized and appointed committees in the several departments of work.

This appears to have been the first year of organized circulation of State Library books among the Clubs of Michigan. It was also the first year in which the Historical and Civil Service sections were added to the Educational Committee. At the time this was done it was thought to be an innovation, but it has justified the plan during subsequent years.

The Martha E. Snyder Root Souvenir Tree Memorial section of the Forestry and Town Improvement Department was





JOSEPHINE M. GOULD

instituted Oct. 13, 1904. Mrs. Carrie W. Miller, chairman. Mrs. Root was the founder of the Department of Forestry in the Michigan State Federation and up to the time of her last illness in 1904 was its chairman.

This memorial was a most appropriate expression of appreciation of Mrs. Root's long and valuable service in the cause of Federation, and an appropriate remembrance of her love for "God's Great Out-of-Doors." She was released from months of weary illness, April 2, 1904. At a meeting of the Board of Directors of the Michigan State Federation of Women's Clubs, held the week following, the sympathy of the Board was voiced as follows:—"The members of the Board of Directors of the Michigan State Federation of Women's Clubs wish to express their sorrow upon the death of Mrs. Martha E. Root. From the organization of the Michigan State Federation of Women's Clubs, Mrs. Root was identified with its growth and interests; she was elected its first treasurer and served the constitutional limit of two years; she was the first chairman of the Forestry Committee and served the Federation for several years in this capacity. By her enthusiastic work she awakened the interest of the club women of the State in this important subject, and rendered material aid to the State Forestry Commission. The Federation never asked in vain for any service which she could render. We shall miss her bright, sunny face, her warm hand clasp, her magnetic presence and her forceful advocacy of the cause in which she was interested."

The main work of the Board at this time, other than the ordinary routine was in connection with the Eighth Biennial of the General Federation of Women's Clubs to be held in St. Louis, Mo. during the time of the Louisiana and Territorial Exposition.

The gracious hospitality of Judge and Mrs. Clement Smith, and their daughter, and the evening reception by the Hastings Woman's Club was keenly enjoyed by the members of the Board of Managers.

In October 1904, the General Federation Secretary reported 17 Michigan clubs in the General Federation.

During 1904 one county federation, Kalamazoo County, was organized with a membership of 10 clubs, making six county federations belonging to the State Federation. Six city federations were also working October 13, 1904. Twenty-five new clubs joined the State Federation during Mrs. Gould's second term making a total of 172, 43 having been added in the two terms.

Concerning the St. Louis Biennial, Mrs. Gould writes: "Those were education days truly that the Michigan delegates spent at St. Louis in 1904. The Odeon was an ideal setting for the throngs of brilliant women gathered there from every quarter of the United States. I know of no more inspiring scene than sessions of the Biennial where altruism, art, education, literature, conservation in various phases, the Child, the Wage Worker, the Home are the burden of the story told by distinguished speakers both men and women. Then the courtesies exchanged between different State Federations, are not only very pleasant but like travel broaden the mind and enlarge the sympathies of women."

The Biennial over, Federation work so far as the president was concerned all looked forward to the next annual convention to be held in Bay City in October.

Near the close of summer a great sorrow came into the president's life. Then tender words of sympathy came to her from women of the Federation, both near at home and in distant States. These touches of sisterly friendliness will be ever cherished as one of the beautiful gifts of an acquaintanceship of service for the Federation.

September brought a large correspondence as well as careful preparation for reviewing the year's work in every department of the Federation, as is usual in the annual address of the presiding officer. This is no small task.

From a report of the tenth annual convention held in Bay City, by the truthful and graceful pen of Mrs. Belle McArthur

Perry is quoted the following: "This was one of the most helpful and inspiring conventions yet held and prophetic in a large way of the benefit to society which must result as women grow to know and use the opportunities which club life and federation offer. The address of the retiring president Mrs. Josephine M. Gould is a very able presentation of the spirit of the meeting."

The presence of Mrs. Sarah Platt Decker of Denver, Colorado, president of the General Federation through the entire session, made the meeting memorable for the spirit of practical goodness and common sense which were infused into it in every word she uttered out of her large and splendidly useful experience.

President Lancaster of Olivet College, Michigan, was one of the speakers on the closing evening. He regards the development of the women's club as "the greatest movement of the age."

Miss Mary McDowell, head resident of Chicago University Social Settlement was another inspiration to delegates. Miss McDowell spoke for the children. The key to her address was given in the lecture by the Professor of Forestry of the University of Michigan, Mr. Filibert Roth, in the afternoon when he told how the rough lumbermen of the northern counties were at first disposed to smile at the idea of setting out the little trees with which they had been familiar all their lives. However as the days passed they began to grow a faith in their work which it was interesting to watch. Professor Roth told how the object of the Forestry Commission was to tide the little tree safely over its period of weakness until it can take care of itself. This is what Mary McDowell asked for the children—to tide them over their period of weakness by protecting them from working under conditions in which they will become deformed, stunted in growth, in short, until they have strength to take care of themselves.

Not a tithe of the very interesting and vital matters that came before that convention can be told.

*The Interchange*, the official organ of the Michigan Woman's Press Association having been discontinued, the Federation greatly missed its helpful aid in disseminating club news and the reports of officers and committees. As President of the Federation, Mrs. Gould said: "We are not so well informed as usual upon what our Clubs are doing."

At Bay City 130 clubs were represented by 202 delegates. The Hostess Clubs,—the Bay City Woman's Club and the West Bay City Woman's Improvement Club—made large and generous plans. The place of meeting, the Presbyterian Church and all the appointments of the place were admirably fitted to the comfort of the occasion; from the cordial greetings at stations and the happy address of welcome by the president of the Bay City Club, Mrs. May Stocking Knaggs on the opening evening, to the striking of the gavel in closing on the last evening and the good-byes at the station, there was an atmosphere of pleasure on the part of the hostess clubs which made delegates feel it indeed good to be there.

Total receipts, \$724.38; Disbursements \$352.99; balance, \$371.39. The election of officers was a fortunate one for the Federation. The gavel wielded by Mrs. Josephine M. Gould for two years was by a majority vote of the 202 delegates present placed in the able hands of Mrs. Lois L. Felker of Grand Rapids.

AT FORT MACKINAC A CENTURY AGO

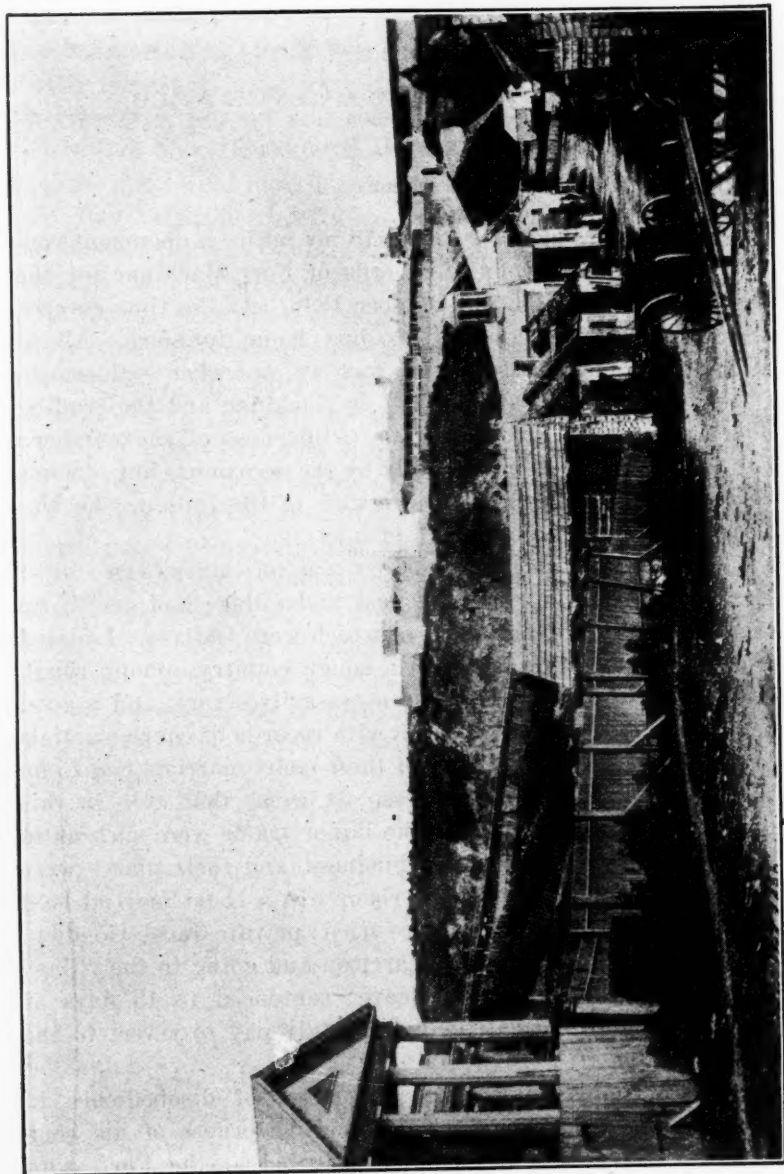
BY HARRY L. SPOONER

DETROIT

A FEW years ago there came to my notice a document consisting of the official records of Fort Mackinac for the period from June 1833 to October 1836. At the time covered by these records, Chicago was just being founded. All of Michigan north of Muskegon was an unbroken wilderness. Outside of the Fort and village at Mackinac and the trading post at Sault de Ste. Marie, the wilderness of the northern half of the state was broken only by the occasional hut of some venturesome trapper and the wigwam of the Indian, who was at this time still pretty much of a savage.

The Fort Mackinac of our story was on the eastern end of Mackinac Island. A trading post and village had grown up there, most of the inhabitants of which were Indians. Isolated from the rest of the world, in a rough country, among rough people, military discipline was necessarily severe, and a good part of the old book is taken up with records of court martials for infraction of rules. Most of these court martials had to do with gambling and drunkenness. It seems that even in this remote place, the gains from the liquor traffic were such as to induce men to engage in this business, and their places were tempting to soldiers of the garrison. In a court martial held July 25, 1834, four soldiers were tried; private Jacob Goodwin pleaded guilty to leaving the garrison and going to the village of Michilimackinac without leave; sentenced to 15 days at hard labor, and one half of his monthly pay to revert to the United States.

Private Thomas Wright was accused of disobedience in going to the village against the positive orders of his commanding officer, and of being intoxicated at the Fort, both offenses happening on July 4, 1834. Thus reads the record:



Fort Mackinac and Village, 1856



"The Court after mature deliberation on the testimony adduced find the prisoner guilty as charged and do sentence him to be confined to hard labor for one month, fifteen days of which to be in solitary confinement in the cells on bread and water, and to forfeit two dollars and a half of his monthly pay to revert to the United States, but the Court in consideration of its being the anniversary of American Independence, do respectfully recommend a remission of that part of the sentence which relates to stoppage of pay and solitary confinement."

Sergeant Henry F. Lessey was charged with disobedience to orders in gambling. He pleaded "Not guilty," but was found guilty on the evidence adduced and was sentenced to be reduced to the rank of a private soldier; sentence remitted, however, on account of previous good character.

Interesting is the trial of Sergeant Alfred Langridge. Three charges were placed against him as follows:

"Charge 1st—Conduct unbecoming a non-commissioned officer and soldier.

"Specification 1st—In that he, the said Sergeant Langridge of Co. "G" 2d Infantry did on or about the 2d of July, 1834, at Fort Mackinac, M. I., violently abuse in a disrespectful manner his superior non-commissioned officer, Sergeant Arnold, orderly sergeant of the Company, in the following words to wit: 'That he, Sergeant Arnold may go to hell, you damned old ruffian, that he did not care a damn for an old ruffian like him,' and other abusive and insubordinate language when he, Sergeant Arnold, was in execution of his duty in inquiring if he, Sergt. Langridge, broke one of the rails of the bannister of the stoop in front of the company quarters.

"Specf. 2d—In that he, the said Sergt. Langridge, of the company and regiment aforesaid did when ordered by Sergt. Arnold, orderly sergeant of Co. "G" to get the rail of the bannister repaired, replied that he would not, that it was he who broke it, and that he, Sergt. Arnold may go to hell and get satisfaction, that he would not do what such an old ruffian

as Sergt. Arnold ordered him, and that he, Sergt. Arnold may go to hell and help himself.

"Specf. 3d—In this, that he, the said Sergt. Langridge of Co. "G", 2d Inf., when ordered by Sergt. Arnold to desist from using such language or that he, Sergt. Arnold, would inform his Captain of it, did reply and say that the whole party may go to hell, that he did not care a damn for him or the Captain, and other insubordinate language, in presence of a number of men of Co. "G" 2d Inf.—this at Fort Mackinac, M. T., July 2d, 1834.

"Charge 2d—Disobedience of Orders.

"Specf. 1st—In that he, the said Sergt. Langridge of the company and regiment aforesaid, did gamble with cards for money with Private Miles of Co. "G" 2d Inf.—This at Fort Mackinac on or about the 26th of June, 1834.

"Specf. 2d—In this that he, the said Sergt. Langridge, of the company and regiment aforesaid did gamble with cards for money with Private Hale of Co. "A" 2d Inf.—This in the village of Mackinaw on or about the 30th day of May, 1834.

"Additional Charge—Insubordination.

"Specf.—In this that he, the said Sergt. Langridge, did say in the quarters of Co. "G" 2d Inf. that he had gambled and would gamble again, and did challenge any enlisted man to gamble with him—saying that if he were reduced for it, he, Langridge, would never do a day's duty as private, if he knew he should be kept in irons until the expiration of his time of enlistment in consequence—that he could be a good soldier, and that he could also play the damn rascal or words to that effect. This at Fort Mackinac, M. T., on or about the 7th of July, 1834.

To which charges and specifications the prisoner pleaded not guilty.

The Court after mature deliberation on the testimony adduced found the prisoner as follows:

"Guilty of the 1st Specification,

"Guilty of the 2nd Specification,

"Guilty of the 3d Specification, and

"Guilty of the 1st Charge.

"Guilty of the 2d Specification but attach no criminality thereto as there is no proof that it was contrary to orders to gamble in the village and not guilty of the 2d charge. Guilty of the additional charge and specifications, and sentence him to be reduced to the rank of a Private soldier."

The influence of the Fourth of July in securing a remission of a sentence for drunkenness incident to celebration that day finds a counterpart in an order given July 3, 1833, which reads: "Tomorrow being the fifty-seventh anniversary of American Independence, a salute of twenty-four guns will be fired at 1 o'clock, P. M. under the direction of the officer of the day. The troops of the post will be in uniform throughout the day. All fatigue except the necessary fatigue of the garrison will cease today at retreat and will not recommence until the morning of the 5th. By order of Major Whistler. J. H. Leavenworth, Lt. and Post Adjt."

Although the officers were inclined to be lenient in cases of drunkenness on Independence Day, the problem of the soldiers' drinking was of great importance and hard to contend with. Be it said to the credit of the officers that they did what they could to discourage the use of liquor. On June 15, 1833, an order was served on one Cadwallader Evans, a saloon keeper, as follows: "You are hereby forbid to sell or give any spirituous liquors at any time to any soldier in service within two miles of the military ground or military reservation on the Island of Mackinac under the penalties of the act of the Legislative Council of the Territory of Michigan, approved March 1st, 1831. M. V. Cobbs, Capt. 2d Inf. Commanding."

But in spite of the efforts of officers, the men secured liquor and on Sept. 13, 1834 is found this entry: "The funeral of Private Lawrence of "A" Co. 2d Inf. will take place tomorrow morning at 9 o'clock. A funeral escort of a Corporal and eight privates will be detailed from the company to which the deceased belonged. The commanding officer would take this opportunity of calling the attention of the soldiers of his command to the awful effects of intemperance—But yesterday and the deceased was in the vigor of manhood, and now, from

his intemperance, he is numbered with the dead. The Major commanding hopes this will prove a salutary warning to all those who are addicted to such habits. All enlisted men off duty will attend the funeral in uniform with side arms. By order of Major Whistler. James W. Penrose, Lt. and Post Adjt."

This result did not remove the habit and the abuse continued. An order of Oct. 4, 1836 is peremptory; it reads: "The Captain commanding has observed with the deepest regret that some of the men of his command have within a few days past conducted themselves in a manner derogatory to the character of men as a soldier and he assures them unless a change takes place for the better that all indulgences will cease and the severest punishment inflicted. He calls upon the non-commissioned officers and good men of the command to aid and assist him in putting a stop to that dreadful scourge of mankind, intemperance. John Clitz, Capt. 2d Inf. Commanding."

Although there seems to have been constant trouble with soldiers who violated the rules, the records show that indulgences were granted to those who could be trusted. Under date of Aug. 1, 1833, an order stated that "Commandants of Companies may grant passes to such enlisted men of their companies as they think proper, to visit the village of Mackinac daily between guard mounting and dinner drum, the men going on such passes being in full dress with side belts." Also, "Passes may be granted in fatigue dress for the purpose of gunning or other recreation on the back part of the island until retreat beating, not to interfere with the stated roll calls or drills that are or may be ordered, but it is strictly forbidden for men obtaining such passes to visit the village unless on duty or by order of an officer."

In common with the practice at other fortified posts in isolated territory, a large garden was maintained, which the soldiers cultivated, to produce the vegetables required for the garrison. That economy had to be enforced is shown by an order forbidding citizens to gather anything from the gardens.

The fuel used was also cut near the Fort. One might think that in a wooded country economy would not have to be practiced, but an order of Oct. 16, 1834 states: "The greatest economy must be used in the consumption of fuel. The officer of the day will be very particular to see that the lights and fires are extinguished in the company quarters as well as those of the married (enlisted) men fifteen minutes after tattoo."

The prices of various articles sold at the Fort are interesting. On Nov. 7, 1834, the Council of Administration met and fixed the sales prices on goods lately received at the sutler's room. We note that even at this late date most of the goods were priced according to the English system. Some articles and prices:

Indigo blue cloth,	\$5	per yard.
White flannel,	4/6	" "
Dark fancy prints,	2/6	" "
Chintz,	3/	" "
Apron check,	2/6	" "
Brown circapian	3/6 and 4/	" "
Prunella pumps,	12/	" pair.
Thick boots	\$3.50	" "
Maderia nuts,	1/6	" pound.
Filberts,	1/6	" "
Muscovada Sugar	1/2	" "
Maderia wine,	\$3.50	" gallon.
Vest buttons,	2/	" dozen.
Scrubbing brushes,	2/6	each

It might be surmised from the foregoing events that nothing ever occurred at the Fort more exciting than a court martial for drunken soldiers. Along in 1836 rumors of an uprising among the Indians poured in, and on May 27 an order was posted as follows: "The commanding officer received information yesterday from good authority that the Indians within the bounds of this agency are disaffected. Therefore, under existing circumstances, no furloughs will be granted. John Clintz, Capt. 2d Inf. Commanding."

These rumors could not have been mere idle talk; on July 2d of that year the following order was given: "In case of alarm the following disposition of the troops is made for their government and it is expected that every man able to bear arms will perform his duty with alacrity.

"Lieut. Penrose is assigned to the command of the two trap pieces of artillery on the platform, for which service one non-commissioned officer and twelve privates will be selected from the command. They will have their muskets near at hand to be used in case of emergency.

"Lieut. Patrick will command the northwest, Sergeant Kennedy the south, and Sergeant Spencer the northeast blockhouses. Six men for each will be selected by the commanding officer. The officers and non-commissioned officers in charge of the blockhouses will be held responsible that everything is kept in readiness for immediate action. The men will take their arms and accoutrements with them.

"Two guns in quick succession from the battery or either of the blockhouses will be the signal for alarm. On the alarm being given, the officers and men selected as above will immediately repair to their posts and prepare for action. The remainder of the companies will be posted where their services will be most required and where they can annoy the enemy and do the most execution. Each man will be supplied with 26 rounds of ammunition and two spare flints.

"Should it be necessary, barrels will be furnished by the Quarter Master for all the blockhouses and store buildings and kept constantly full of water. John Clitz, Capt. 2d Inf. Commanding."

It is likely that this was an aftermath of the Black Hawk War. The excitement must have subsided, as there are no further items in regard to it up to the closing entry in October. The annals chronicled in the old book, official records of a frontier post, reveal much of interest to those interested in the history of Mackinac.



### THREE ISLANDS

BY MARION M. DAVIS

There are three islands guard the Straits  
Upon the Huron shore;  
The largest and the least of these  
Are covered o'er with verdant trees—

OR WERE, before man, needing fuel, started robbing them of their verdure. These three islands are Round Island, Bois Blanc Island and Mackinac Island. The largest of these is Bois Blanc, called by the Indians Mi-ko-bi-min-iss, or Basswood Island.<sup>1</sup>

Bois Blanc Island was "an extra and voluntary gift of the Chippewa nation" when Mackinac Island was ceded to the United States at the treaty of Greenville.<sup>2</sup> It is a large island,<sup>3</sup> and forms the north side of what is known as the South Channel of the Straits of Mackinaw. From its south-easterly point shoals extend nearly to Poe Reef, where a light vessel has long been stationed. A coastguard station is located at Walker's Point on the east side of the island. For a great many years there has been a lighthouse at the northern end of the island. In the great storm of December, 1837, it was blown down<sup>4</sup> but was soon replaced. Bryant, in 1846, tells of his trip to Mackinac, and of "the sandy isle of Bois Blanc, the name of which is commonly corrupted to Bob-low Island, thickly covered with pines, and showing a tall lighthouse on the point nearest us".

If the conclusions of H. C. Campbell<sup>5</sup> are worthy of consideration, Bois Blanc may wrest from Manitoulin the distinction of a description in Radisson, about 1654. But later mention of it is connected with Mackinac island, as a wooding

<sup>1</sup>*Mich. Hist. Mag.*, II, 555.

<sup>2</sup>Aug. 3, 1795.

<sup>3</sup>11½ mi. NNW and ESE, with width of 4¾ miles at its south-easterly end, and 1¼ mi. at its north-westerly end. Bulletin 32, Survey of Northern and Northwestern Lakes.

<sup>4</sup>Wood, *Historic Mackinac*, II, 230.

<sup>5</sup>*American Historical Review*, I, 234.



place for that rocky bit of land. Bailey tells of the old apple trees on the island, intimating that it was used as an orchard and garden by the Indians and early French settlers. The sugar camps on Bois Blanc, owned by Mackinac islanders, are delightfully described by Elizabeth Thérèse Baird; and later there were gardens there worked by the Presbyterian Mission at Mackinac.

Bois Blanc figures in the War of 1812 as a shelter for the fleet of Sinclair, as they maneuvered about, trying to find an opportunity to attack the British at the fort. There is a legend of gold buried on the island during this war, whether by refugees from Mackinac or soldiers and sailors of the fleet, is not quite clear. It may be a story transplanted bodily from Drummond Island, with the feeling that any large island should have at least one legend of buried treasure.

Attached in 1818 to Mackinac County, then having its seat on Mackinac island, Bois Blanc later followed the county to its seat at St. Ignace. There is always a strong sentiment for connecting it with Cheboygan county, with which its interests seem more closely allied. In late winter the people of the island, a small population, can make their way over the ice to Mackinac island or to the mainland at Cheboygan, but in summer and during that part of the fall and spring when the channel is clear, their communication is by boat with Cheboygan, a small boat but a stout one. It is at Cheboygan that the summer residents leave the railroad for their voyage to Point aux Pins and Walker's Point, where their cottages are located.

In July of the year 1880, Bois Blanc furnished to Cheboygan one of its greatest sensations. It was discovered to be the refuge of a noted outlaw, Henry English, who had escaped from arrest in Elk County, Pennsylvania, by killing an officer. Traced to the vicinity of Cheboygan by Pinkerton men, he was believed by the sheriff to be in hiding on the fishing grounds of Bois Blanc Island. The desperate mountaineer was described as thirty-five years old, six feet high and quick as a

cat, a perfect athlete. So great was the dread that reports of his exploits had inspired that the most elaborate and unusual preparations were made for his capture and subsequent return to the authorities in the east. The sheriff's force, carefully instructed, somewhat fearfully awaited his expected visit, for the fishermen came over often, and he had been spotted on one of his previous trips. Sheriff Paquette and his brother finally espied the outlaw, sitting out in front of a saloon opposite the Ottawa House, the building still standing but now converted to other uses. Approaching with the utmost caution, they seized him from behind before he was aware of their intention.

He proved to be a most docile captive. Mildly amused at the terror he had excited, he said that he had killed only in self-defence; that he had got a greater reputation than he deserved. They insisted, however, on putting him into the harness they had especially constructed for him, binding him so that he could hardly move. During his captivity here, as later in New York, he completely won the hearts of all who came in contact with him, though they never dared relax their vigilance. He was taken by the inland route to Petoskey, where they could reach the railroad, as there was no rail service to Cheboygan at that time. All the town was down to see him off, and all Petoskey was there to witness his arrival. Strange indeed had been the adventures of this plain mountaineer: "wounded in seven places, he had laid out in the woods" till sufficiently recovered to flee to Canada. He told that while he was thus hiding, he saw the old country doctor pass; he longed to ask for aid, but realizing that the doctor would either have to give him up or compromise with his conscience by shielding him, he decided to stick it out alone. From Canada he went to Detroit, and finally to Cheboygan, seeking asylum on the lonely island among the fishermen. Then came his capture, and the journey through the curious crowds, shackled and guarded like a wild beast.

## THE OUTLAW OF BOIS BLANC

They made him a harness stout and strong—  
Hard is the road, and the way is long,  
For the transgressor.

For the curious crowd 'twas a gala time—  
What cared they as to whether the crime  
Was greater or lesser?

At Indian River and Topinabee,  
Woodsmen and Indians stared as though he  
Were Little Harpe's successor.

And he faced them all with a patient smile,  
Without bravado or anger or guile,  
Nor asked intercessor;

Conscious that only a higher might  
Could sift the reasons and fix the right  
'Twixt aggrieved and aggressor.

On the trial the detectives who had accompanied him expressed their admiration of his "calm and resignation," and his acquittal of the charge of murder is chronicled in the Cheboygan paper of October twenty-eighth with sincere interest.

Unlike Mackinac, Bois Blanc permits autos, and there are quite a number there in summer, "too many", one of the residents says, "for the narrow roads of the island." A prospectus of the island as an aviation port, published in 1927, says, "The island is all high and dry, with four beautiful inland lakes . . . . . A fifty-five acre aeroplane landing-field and athletic field near the Northern Lights Hotel is being prepared, and is to be named the Lindberg-Byrd Aviation Field of Bois Blanc Island".

When aviation becomes general it will be the ideal solution for getting to and from the islands of the Great Lakes all the year round. Between Bois Blanc and Au Sable on the mainland, the famed Bois Blanc icebridge forms early, sometimes in December, and then it often remains until spring. Between Mackinac and Bois Blanc, it takes longer. In 1927, not until March was the woodhauling from Bois Blanc to Mackinac reported at its height.

Walker's Point Coast Guard Station functions all winter long, and is at all times an important aid to life on the island; during the season of navigation, warning vessels off the beaches and reefs, saving the crews and what they can of the cargo of foundering, stranded and wrecked boats. A survey of the report of even one year's activities of any of these coast-guard stations gives one some idea of their value, and of the inadequacy of the pay of the men, considering the constant vigilance and the risks demanded of them.

Since the days when the Chippewas relinquished their claim to the island with magnanimity that brought but poor returns, there have been many projects for its disposal. Held by the Federal government as a wood reserve for Mackinac island, where woodcutting is forbidden, it passed with Mackinac to the State of Michigan. Land was sold there, the money so acquired to be used in building the boulevard around Mackinac island. Denuded by lumbering operations of its larger trees, several summer resorts sprung up on Bois Blanc, the best known called Point aux Pins. Whenever a new resort is planned, the older residents of Cheboygan recall the famous "Bois Blanc Gardens" fiasco, when island lots were offered with theatre tickets, the person holding a winning number getting a lot free. It is averred that these lots were in a swamp, and were not worth recording. However this may have been, there is plenty of land on the island "high and dry", as the aviation projectors claim, and for one who wishes to escape from the thralls of convention, no more beautiful spot could be found along the Huron shore. Even a short visit is well worth the trip across stormy waters, while when the weather is fine, the journey on the boat is in itself a delightful adventure.

Though really quite a distance, from Bois Blanc to Round Island seems but a step, the water is so shallow. During the War of 1812, we are told that some of Sinclair's fleet passed through this channel. Without charts, they dared some things mariners of the present day would avoid. In a letter of Sep-

tember 3, 1814, Sinclair writes to the Secretary of the Navy<sup>6</sup> "there is nothing like anchorage in Lake Huron, except in the mouth of rivers . . . . . I have been several times in great danger of total loss in this extremely hazardous navigation, entirely unknown to our pilots except direct to Mackinac, by falling suddenly from no soundings into three fathoms . . . . . These dangers might be avoided, from the transparency of the waters, but for the continued thick fogs which prevail almost as constantly as on the Grand Bank."

Round Island is small and hilly and about three miles in circumference. Its lighthouse on the hook of land south of Mackinac Island is very picturesque in appearance.

From the very earliest times, it was evidently used as a burial ground by the Indians. This is referred to by Mary Hartwell Catherwood in her charming story, "The Skeleton on Round Island" in *Mackinac and Lake Stories*. In his diary, Schoolcraft records, "Went to Round Island with Mr. Featherstonehaugh and Lieutenant Mather. Examined the ancient ossuaries and the scenery on the island".

During the War of 1812, the Americans had explored Round Island with a view to planting a battery there, and during their explorations with Ambrose Davenport as guide, they were pursued by the Indians allied to the British on Mackinac Island. One of their men stopping to gather and eat some of the delicious raspberries then ripening—it was in August, and who, having tasted the island berries, can wonder at him?—was captured and carried back to the fort. Only through the prompt intervention of the British officers did he escape death by the most hideous forms of torture.

Afterward, when the fort had been taken over by the Americans, and the British had reluctantly retired to Drummond Island, Round Island became one of the bones of contention between the somewhat querulous commanders of the two lately opposing forces. It was claimed as the property of Mrs. Mitchell, the remarkable Indian wife of the British surgeon,

<sup>6</sup>Wood, *Historic Mackinac*, I, app. 631.

David Mitchell. McDonall, the British commander, says in a letter to Major General Robinson, September 24, 1815, "they have also taken from her a small island adjoining never purchased by the Americans, but which was last year, (with my concurrence) unanimously presented to her by her relations the Chippewas in return for her kindness to them".<sup>7</sup>

This may have been some such gift as a man makes when about to go into bankruptcy, for the Indians had probably already then concluded that the Americans would be victorious and would take it away from them.

Round Island has a later history as the home of the old Medicine Man, Chusco, or Wachusco, celebrated by Jameson, Schoolcraft and others. In the history of Les Cheneaux Islands, by Frank R. Grover, Chusco is said to have been one of the signers of the Treaty of Greenville, 1795. He died and was buried on Round Island in 1837.

A description of the island in 1835 says "Its dark treetops mark almost a perfect arch upon the sky, so regularly does the land rise from every side toward the center, and so completely is it clothed with an unbroken forest." Another writer speaking of Round Island and of Bois Blanc, touched with autumn frosts, says that "they are like gay bouquets upon the water". Beautiful in its primeval verdure, Round Island was indeed a fit burial place in which to lay the old warrior of Fallen Timbers beside the graves of his fathers. Although a convert to Christianity, he sleeps beside those who once followed the gods he was wont to invoke in his medicine dances, when the tent shook with the wrath of the Great Spirit.

During the cholera epidemic, boats forbidden to land at Mackinac, buried their dead on Round Island.

A letter from the Department of Commerce, Light House Service, dated January 24, 1928, states, "Practically the entire island . . . has been recently transferred to the State of Michigan for park purposes. This was accomplished by Congress-

<sup>7</sup>*Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XVIII, 83.



sional legislation and leaves the Government only a small portion of the island upon which the lighthouse is located."

The same letter says, "In the case of Bois Blanc Island . . . . . this light was changed from oil to acetylene on April 17, 1924. At the same time the services of the keeper were dispensed with and the light made unwatched.<sup>8</sup> Later, on August 24, 1925, that portion of the reservation, including the dwelling and boathouse, was advertised for bids and sold to the highest bidder who is using it as a summer home. The light is still maintained, however, but on a separate structure, a skeleton steel tower, located not far from the old lighthouse on the portion of the reservation retained by the United States."<sup>9</sup>

The Indian name of Round Island is given by Father Gagnier<sup>10</sup> as Nissawinagong, the Middle Island. Thus is recognized its place as a connecting link between the two larger islands, Bois Blanc and Mackinac.

There are three islands guard the Straits  
 Upon the Huron shore.  
 The largest and the least of these  
 Are covered o'er with verdant trees,  
     But Mackinac has richer store  
     Charm of old legendary lore  
 That echoes with the sighing of the breeze  
 Upon the Huron shore.

This lore has been so assiduously collected and the legends so well told in numerous volumes, that later writers can only hope to add a few echoes of the old time stories to the history of the Queen of the Straits, gathering up some unconsidered trifles to fill in the gaps.

From the time that the United States, then a weak and unstable federation, found herself at the close of the Revolution, the titular owner, though not the possessor of the "posts on the Lakes", longing eyes were turned to Mackinac. Again and again the officers of the government and of the army tried

<sup>8</sup>For description of these unwatched lights see *Mich. Hist. Mag.*, X, 436-7.

<sup>9</sup>Signed, "Charles A. Park, Superintendent of Lighthouses, Eleventh District," Detroit, Mich.

<sup>10</sup>*Mich. Hist. Mag.*, II, 555.

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to pierce the veil of mystery regarding the island stronghold of which they had heard so much. General Wayne refers to these posts again and again in his letters to Secretary of War Knox, and to his immediate subordinate, General James Wilkinson. In 1792, he writes that he "regards an Indian peace as hopeless as long as the British retain the forts on the Lakes—they ought to have been delivered up eight years ago." It is heartbreaking to read these letters and to know of the insolence and arrogance of the British ministers toward our representatives in London who were trying to adjust this matter. Had these posts been given up promptly, much bloodshed could have been avoided. Papers obtained from the Canadian archives show plainly that the British commanders were taking every advantage of this delay to encourage the Indian resistance.

Some letters found in the Wayne papers at the Pennsylvania Historical Society reveal that Wilkinson understood and valued the importance of espionage (or what is now called intelligence or liaison service) as fully as did Washington.

One R(euben) Reynolds had deserted from Fort St. Clair by permission, in fact by order, of Wilkinson. He was captured and sold to a family of Wyandots, by them sold to some Miamis. With them he descended the St. Joseph into Lake Michigan, and was conveyed from there to Michilimackinac. There he continued twenty days, living in the capacity of a kitchen servant in the family of "Mr. Champion".

"The British fort is garrisoned by a company of sixty men commanded by Captain William Doyle of the Twenty-fourth Regiment. The fortification is of stone of a circular form with two bastions at each corner of the front—he was not allowed to go within the fort—Indians were daily coming in and going from the fort. He saw arms, ammunition, scalping knives, provisions and so forth given to them, but whether sold as from the traders or given to them on other accounts he could not learn. The soldiers of the garrison appeared to be inveterate against the Indians. He heard nothing of the Grand

Council to be held.<sup>11</sup> Chiefs went down to Canada it was said for the purpose of consulting the Governor with respect to the war with the Americans. After remaining at Michilimackinac twenty days as before noted, he had a passport given him by Captain Doyle in a boat of "Mr. Campon's",<sup>12</sup> and he accordingly set out and went along Lake Huron two hundred and forty miles to the French River, from thence into a lake called by the French *Nipsang*, afterwards into the Grand River and down to Montreal, from which place he came through Vermont to Philadelphia. He says that the American prisoners were held as slaves."<sup>13</sup>

That General Wayne did not have as high an appreciation of this service, is shown by the following letters, one from Wilkinson at Fort Washington to General Knox, November 3, 1792:

"Sir: I have this evening received advice that a man had arrived at Pittsburgh who reported himself as a spy sent by me into the Indian towns, from whence he had made his escape; my informant does not remember the name of this man; but says his deposition has been made public by General Wayne. If this be true it is unfortunate because it not only destroys this agent's future utility in the same line but will bar the door against our emissaries from every quarter. I did expect that May of the First Regiment or Reynolds of the Second might make for Pittsburgh as they were allowed to do in case they should find it necessary; if the person in question answers to either of the above-named he should be retained in service and sent to this post as a guide for future occasions".

Another letter follows, one from Wayne to Wilkinson of November seventh in which he says, "with this detachment goes a certain Reuben Reynolds, who charges that he is a sergeant in Captain H. Buell's company of the Second Sub-Legion, and that he was directed by you to leave the army

<sup>11</sup>This was probably the council upon which Washington was depending for a peace to avert the necessity of action against the savages, and for which Gen. Rufus Putnam had been sent to the frontiers.

<sup>12</sup>This is spelled the two ways in the document.

<sup>13</sup>Wayne Papers, XXII, 74, 110. Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

under the character of a deserter in order to make discoveries, about the twelfth May last; he seems to have taken a very circuitous route and gives no very material information except as to the hostile intentions of the Indians."

Is it possible that blunders like this in making public such information, and in undervaluing the reports of spies, were the cause of the deaths of Hardin and Trueman, sent as emissaries to the Indians?

General Wilkinson's interest in the island led him to visit it later. After he succeeded General Wayne as Commander in Chief of the United States Army, a letter from Caleb Swan, dated from Detroit, 1797, is prefaced as follows: "General Wilkinson arrived here in June; and after making some prompt arrangements for the garrison, proposed a voyage to Michilimackinac and invited me to accompany him<sup>14</sup> and on the fourth day of August we embarked in a sloop of about seventy tons burden. We had a safe and pleasant trip, not only to Michilimackinac but even into Lake Superior; and returned to this place on the fourth of last month (September), highly gratified indeed."<sup>15</sup>

That Wilkinson's visit to Mackinac was not wholly one of curiosity is shown in the conclusions voiced in a memorial to Alexander Hamilton, dated New York, September 4, 1799, in answer to a request of Hamilton, then Secretary of War. After some general recommendations, the wisdom of which was shown by succeeding events, he says, "it is my decided opinion that the height which looks into the present works of Michilimackinac should be occupied by a strong but regular work, and the garrison transferred to it. This precaution with proper endowments will enable two hundred and fifty men to defend the place . . . . ; combined to these preparations we must have a navy for Lake Erie to bear some proportion to that of the enemy . . . . although I have no return from Mackinac I believe the heaviest metal there are brass six-

<sup>14</sup>Swan was paymaster of the army.

<sup>15</sup>*American Historical Magazine*, Jan., 1888, pp. 74, 75.

pounders and five and a half-inch howitzers . ." He recommends strengthening the garrison at that post in point of men and equipment.

These recommendations, he says, were approved by Hamilton and Washington, but the measures to carry them into execution "were arrested by the unexpected accommodation of our differences with France, and the sudden reduction of our army."

By those historians content to condemn him as a traitor, little attention has been directed to the soldierly qualifications of Wilkinson, but a careful study of the document quoted will convince anyone that the advice therein contained, had it been carried out, might have averted the second war with Great Britain. The surrender of Mackinac, bringing in its train the surrender of Detroit, was the greatest blow the nation suffered, and probably the unprepared condition of the northern post was a great encouragement to the British in their intrigues with the Indians. The construction of Fort George<sup>16</sup> by the British shows an appreciation of Wilkinson's point of view. The fact that the defenses of Fort George were later demolished by the officers at Fort Mackinac<sup>17</sup> has no real strategic significance, as it was not then defended. It had proved impregnable to Lt. Hanks when it was occupied by the foe with only hastily prepared entrenchments, and "one iron six-pounder."<sup>18</sup>

An incident of the British occupation of the fort is given in a letter from Elizabeth Whitney Williams, author of "A Child of the Sea".

<sup>16</sup>Afterwards known as Fort Holmes.

<sup>17</sup>A supposed triumph of military skill.

<sup>18</sup>The Memorial of Wilkinson above quoted was printed by him in his *Memoirs* in 1816, and it may be urged that he might have inserted this paragraph after knowing of the Fort Holmes affair, were it not that he says in a note (I, 445) "And yet with a transcript of this memoir in the war department, from the year 1802, not a single step was taken on this recommendation." Congressman Carl E. Mapes of the Fifth District has caused a search to be made in the War Department for this memorial or the transcript, and reports no copy can be found. It is unlikely, however, that Wilkinson would have cared thus to challenge the department at that time unless such a transcript had been there. There would have been too many who would have known about it in 1816, and too many interested in denying it.

"In my mother's childhood days the water was high up the cliffs in many places, the evergreens have grown as well as other trees in other places where there used to be none.<sup>10</sup> I cannot tell whether I shall ever be able to write the story that is so fascinating to me—it might not be to others—, but when I used to listen to my mother tell all the happenings that led up to her being adopted into the Indian tribe to save her life, I wish I could make it as real to others as it was to me.

"She was born under the British flag at Fort Mackinac,.... May 5, 1796. The Stars and Stripes should have floated over the fort, but news traveled slow in those days, and it was some time in October before the truth was known that Mackinac Island belonged to the United States and that St. Joseph's Island in the Soo River was given to the British in its place. So the American Indians were not satisfied to have a British subject so close to them; then my mother had to be adopted into the tribe to save her life. Before this her mother and father had passed [beyond?], and Michael Dousman had adopted her into his household, and had promised her own father that they would give her the home and care of a real father and mother, which they did;...her father placed a large sum of money in their hands for her care and her dowry in later years....

"Several times I have thought of writing a little story just as a history of the customs of the Indians when they made an adoption of anyone into their tribe; their promises are very solemn and they never break a promise, it is always kept sacred. Mr. Dousman paid a sum of a few hundred dollars to have her taken into the tribe as he saw it was the only way to save the child's life."

Frederick Bates who held court in Mackinac for the Northwest Territory (and finally succeeded Wilkinson as governor of the northern part of the Louisiana Territory), visited the island in 1799, and was very much impressed with the fortifications. He writes to his mother, August 15, 1800; "In one

<sup>10</sup>See old prints and descriptions of the Island.

of the last fall vessels I went to Michilimackinac, and in one of the first spring vessels I shall visit that island a second time. The length of the voyage is sufficiently compensated by the beauty of the place and the superior elegance of its improvements. If the natural situation is not entirely impregnable, much labor and some art have effectively supplied the deficiency. After night the lights in the fort appear from the foot of the hill like stars in the heavens."

It may have been at Mackinac that Bates formed the acquaintance of Robert Dickson, and learned to repose in him the confidence which was to result so disastrously for the United States in the War of 1812.

Several letters to Bates show the further progress of events at Mackinac. One is of interest as testimony to the value of the fort garden. "Michilimackinac, November 8, 1802. . . . . For instance, our commanding officer came here just in time to reap the fruits of my labor, and he has done it completely by taking possession (of) and keeping all the vegetables in the public (the old word for *government*) garden, which were planted by me and cost me no inconsiderable trouble and expense"! This is signed N. B. Whiley, who adds, "I should be glad if you can send me a couple of small beefs and a few sheep if to be got on reasonable terms by the first vessel in the spring."<sup>20</sup>

In October of the next year is a short letter from David Duncan, Collector of the Port. After disposing of business, he adds, "The island of Mackinac affords nothing new. The people are as happy as it is possible for potatoes and whitefish to make them."<sup>21</sup>

After the War of 1812, the fur trade increased in prosperity, but this has been thoroughly dealt with by many chroniclers. Evidently there was even then a considerable trade in fish. In a Dayton, Ohio, paper of August, 1815 (the *Ohio Republican*) is an article by Alex C. Lanier, in which he proposes

<sup>20</sup>Burton Historical Collections.

<sup>21</sup>Idem.



the formation of a salting company at Cleveland, "to salt the fish in barrels in the Upper Lakes, as they are superior there."<sup>22</sup>

This matter of the early fishing trade has not received much attention. One is amazed at the figures gathered by Marryat, on his visit in 1837. "At Mackinaw alone they cure about two thousand barrels [of trout and whitefish, salted down, and sent to the west and south], which sell for ten dollars the barrel; at the Sault, about the same quantity; and on Lake Superior at the station of the American Fur Company, they have commenced the fishing, to lessen the expense of the establishment, and they now salt down about four thousand barrels; but this traffic is still in its infancy and will become more profitable as the west becomes more populous."

He notes another source of profit, "the collecting of the maple sugar; and this staple, if I may use the term, is rapidly increasing. . . . At Mackinaw they receive about three hundred thousand pounds every year."

The Irish immigrants were then beginning to come in, and being many of them from the northern part of Ireland, and fishermen there, they took more readily to the fishing than to the fur trade.

Reverend Meade Williams refers to this period (around 1830-37) as the time of the greatest development of the social life on the island. At the time of which Gurdon Hubbard tells, and when Dr. Beaumont first came to the island, society had not attained the heights which were later to be scaled. A glimpse of the later period is afforded by reference to the naive recital of the experiences of Eliza Chappell Porter, who went to Mackinac in 1831 to teach the children of Robert Stuart. "She loved to tell how going into the wilds of the north among missionaries and Indians, she feared that even her modest wardrobe, which although simple, was in the then modern city fashion, might prove inappropriate. Whatever it was necessary to add to it was of the most inexpensive

<sup>22</sup>Dayton Public Library.



materials and made in the severest plainness. Who that heard will ever forget the genuine mirth with which she told of her introduction into Mr. Stuart's luxurious home, to a style of living and of attention to the requirements of society such as were new to her. As the representative of the great company on the island, Mr. Stuart entertained all persons of note who visited that part of the country, and the missionary or governess wardrobe needed immediate attention to make it at all appropriate for the stately dinners and other gatherings at which as a member of his family she must appear. Miss Chappell was still so young and always adapted herself so easily to new conditions that probably no one but herself realized her embarrassment and surprise. But all her life it made her wonderfully quick to see and prompt to help those similarly situated. She used to say, 'I remember how I felt at Mackinaw!'....She keenly enjoyed dainty appointments and all the little elegancies in the home which wealth afforded, and as long as she lived was fond of quoting Mr. and Mrs. Stuart as authority on points of social decorum."<sup>23</sup>

Her diary and letters written during her stay on the island have been paraphrased and edited by her niece. Unfortunately for the historian, less is given of actual happenings than of the writer's spiritual development, but as the book was prepared for the benefit of a religious organization, the editor may be the best judge as to her choice of matter. Here and there are gleaned some really pertinent historical notes. Among topics not so often treated by books on the island, are found valuable references to the cholera epidemic. An account of a mission opened at St. Ignace gives a vivid picture of conditions there. Some phases of social life that particularly interested her are worthy of remark.

In July, she writes, "Today I dined at Mr. Mitchell's in company with an Indian trader and wife who have just arrived from the wintering grounds." "These traders usually marry" the daughters of chiefs who feel it an honor to give them "to these great men, as they esteem the traders to be. From these

<sup>23</sup>Eliza Chappell Porter, A Memoir, 1892.

M. J. Parley  
mission  
-529

unions.....have arisen a race less stable in character than either whites or Indians. ....The mission school is composed almost entirely of this class, but few unmixed Indians."<sup>24</sup>

July 24th, "Our island is a scene of excitement. Two of the traders who are members of our church are to be married to Indian girls of the Mission family. This is the custom of the traders who you understand are intelligent white men. They marry Indian girls and take them into the interior. Some of them are several thousand miles beyond us. Our school prepares these girls to make their families happy and to be themselves very useful among their people if disposed."

A comment of Marryat's is here added. "It is remarkable that although the Americans treat the negro with contumely, they have a respect for the red Indian; a well-educated half-breed Indian is not debarred from entering into society; indeed they are generally received with great attention. The daughter of a celebrated Indian chief brings heraldry into the family", and he cites the case of Pocahontas.

Some facts about the mission school are to be found in the Porter narrative, which are of value, for as Meade Williams says, "We have but scanty record of these teachers". She speaks of the number who went into the far posts with the Indians, and gives some other particulars of interest.

One of the teachers at the Mission School was named Mason Hearsey, and from a granddaughter have been gleaned a few facts about his enlistment in the work. He was born at Canton Point, Maine, July 6, 1809, and had been teaching in schools in his native state for four years when he was appointed to the Mackinac Mission. His granddaughter says, "I had heard Grandmother tell of his stopping at Boston and going into the music house of Lowell Mason to purchase a violin, and Mr. Mason got into conversation with him, and learning that he was on his way to teach in a mission school in the wilds of Northern Michigan, told him to select any instrument he wished, and made him a present of it." On his way

<sup>24</sup>But there were also white pupils. McKenney, ed. 1827, p. 387.

to the mission he made quite a tour, and wrote his brother an interesting account of the various cities visited.<sup>25</sup> The letter is dated "River St. Lawrence, 8 miles below Lake Erie, July 1, 1834." "This eve, if weather and circumstances will serve, I think of starting up the Lake. It will take 2 days and  $\frac{1}{2}$  to Detroit, where I shall probably be detained two or three days and then start for Michilimackinac. This will require 23 days more. At Buffalo I have met with four persons who either are or have been connected with the Mackinac Mission, and from the information I got from them I do not feel disappointed in the prospect before me. Many things will probably try me and some will be pleasures. From all I can learn I think my situation will be as pleasant as any at that place."

Another granddaughter writes, "Grandfather was a very studious man, and at home never did much talking. He was very friendly with the Indians and learned a good deal of their language." After he left Mackinac, he joined the Dexter Colony at Ionia and married Caroline Cornell, a daughter of one of the founders of Ionia, on September 3, 1837. He died September 20, 1882.

From similar personal relations may in time be gathered data regarding the school and teachers of the mission, not important in themselves but contributing to an understanding of the period. From Martin Heydenburk's reminiscences and from the letter referred to, and from notes in an old copy of a History of Michigan by Landman, once the property of Mason Hearsey, and annotated by him, we may be justified in concluding that the character of the teaching force was of a high order. Mrs. Porter's comments would corroborate this opinion.

It was at about this time that the first island newspaper of which any record exists was started. Schoolcraft, in his diary, says that a letter from his brother, December 31, 1840, says that "Theodoric has undertaken to conduct a weekly paper, the

<sup>25</sup>This letter is now in the Hall-Fowler Memorial Library at Ionia, Michigan.

*Pic Nic*, which thus far goes off well." This "Theodoric" was a young Virginian whom Schoolcraft had befriended. In April, 1840, he was in the "Capitol", as a representative for the county of Mackinac in the legislature.

Whether the "Pic Nic" was written or printed is not stated. There is an old printing press on the island which is still used to print off handbills. Whether this was in existence at that time, who can say? But it may quite likely have been this press which was used in printing the *Mackinac Herald*, published just before the Civil War. The copy owned by Mr. Charles Smythe of Cheboygan is No. 9 of Volume II, and is dated Saturday, June 2, 1860. "Published every Saturday during the season of navigation at the Island of Mackinac, Michigan by J. L. Gantt." This paper seems weak on local news, being mainly concerned with outside matters (it has a good deal of its space devoted to the nomination of Lincoln) and two articles by William J. Johnston on the historic significance of Michilimackinac and St. Ignace.

What would be of more value today, would be the accounts of marriages, births and deaths, to which more modern newspapers even yet give some notice. The early Catholic church records are quite complete in this regard but the Presbyterian Mission seems lacking in such statistics. In the very comprehensive researches that Meade Williams made concerning the old Mission Church, there is found no reference to any marriages celebrated therein. Mrs. Porter mentions weddings both among the missionaries and the townspeople but does not say where they were solemnized. A family tradition credits the church with being the scene of a romantic marriage between an officer of the garrison, Lieutenant Caleb C. Sibley, and the daughter of one of the founders of the church, Ambrose Davenport. Her name was Nancy, and as the name of Nancy Davenport has been chosen for the heroine of a story of the island during the War of 1812, by Frances Margaret Fox, more may in time be learned of the wedding which was quite likely the first in the newly finished church.

## NUMBER 9

In his personal habits, Mr. Lincoln is as simple as a child. He loves a good dinner, and eats with the appetite which goes with a great brain, but his food is plain and nutritious. He never drinks intoxicating liquors of any sort, and is a confirmed teetotaler. He is not addicted to tobacco in any of its shapes. He never was accused of a libelous act in all his life. He never uses profane language. A friend says that once, when in a towering rage in consequence of the efforts of certain parties to nominate a friend on the State, he was heard to say, "They shall do it, or I will shoot them." This is a profusion of that kind, and a bit of feeling never carry him. He never gambles; he doubt if he ever indulges in any games of chance.

Photo of copy in collection of Mr. Charles Smythe of Cheboygan, Mich.



Of course, it would have to be an earlier newspaper than the Pic Nic that could have recorded that wedding. But many an incident of the later years might be dated could we find a file of the old island papers.

It was after the Cheboygan papers had been started, that the next island paper of which any record is found, is mentioned. In the Cheboygan Free Press of March 16, 1876, is this item: "The National Park Gazette is the name of a new paper started in Mackinaw." This paper was printed in Cheboygan. Another paper started on the island that same year, the "Mackinaw Journal", had evidently a brief career, for in November the Cheboygan paper states that the editor "is now a resident of Kentucky". April 30, 1880, came the "Mackinac County Sentinel". "It is a lively little sheet, and we wish it success", says the Cheboygan Democrat. "Printed at the old county seat on Mackinac Island", it moved in August, 1880, to St. Ignace which "was now flourishing like the green bay tree", according to Cheboyganites. In September "the Mackinac County Sentinel denies the report that it will move back to Mackinac next summer", and on November it is suspended. It is to be hoped that a collection of some of these fugitive sheets can be made, as they would be of help in following the succession of events from 1840 to 1880.

A manuscript written by Mrs. Melissa Rice Langdon affords some pictures of life on Mackinac Island about 1846. Her father, Samuel Rice, had come to Mackinac Island to help his brother in the fisheries in the summer, and in his store in the winters. He brought thither his five motherless little girls. "Mary and Martha went to school, and Lissie [the author of the manuscript] stayed at home and cared for Emma and Annie. Their Aunt Ann lived but a short distance from them, so she taught Annie how to cook and do the work. Mary and Martha would work when they came home from school, but they did the sewing and knitting for the children. Lissie was taught to read and the winter was passing very pleasantly, and when Christmas came they all hung up their stockings;

each one of the girls got a new dress and Baby Annie got a doll that opened and shut its eyes and had real hair, and Lissie and Emma got a bird with bright plumage, and oh! the candy and nuts and figs and raisins!

"There was a family by the name of Davenport that lived near them, and two children, Julia and William, who were companions of the children." After a summer on Big Fox Island, "Mary and Martha were delighted to return to their school again."

One day Lissie and Julia Davenport took their sleds, and putting Emma and Annie on them, walked up "the steep path to the old fort. 'Now, Lissie, you may start first', said Julia. So taking little Annie on the front of her sled she started, and in an instant they were dumped over the steep rocky pass that led to the lake, and in less time than it takes to tell it, they were far out on the lake bounding over loose ice. Julia, seeing for the first time that the ice was breaking up and loosening from the island, ran to assist her friend, but she could do nothing. Emma came screaming at the top of her voice. Lissie, seeing the situation, soon stopped her sled, and taking the rope in one hand, sprang from cake to cake, the sled bounding quickly over the cracks, and they soon reached the shore in safety. The teacher had heard the screaming and came running out to see the cause of it all. She told Julia to take the children home.".....

"Mary, the oldest, was now almost sixteen. Three winters at school had passed for herself and Martha, and three summers on lonely islands away from school and friends and society." That summer they went to Beaver Island, whence they were later driven by the Mormons, finally settling at Traverse City.<sup>26</sup>

It was about this time that Mackinac Island first showed indications of becoming a summer resort, though it had long been the fashion for all travellers in America to make a tour of the Lakes and stop there, sometimes for several days' stay,

<sup>26</sup>*Mich. Hist. Mag.*, XI, 356.



sometimes for only the interval while the steamers were unloading. From an exceedingly frank account by a British visitor in 1846, it would appear that the refinements of entertainment were not at that time very well understood, but by the eighties the accommodations were quite luxurious. However, the growth of the summer resort trade did not console the Islanders for the desertion of the island by some of their most progressive citizens during the lumbering days. Shortly after the Civil War the fishing trade declined, and the mining and lumbering interests became paramount in the north. The mushroom growth of St. Ignace brought on the removal of the county seat to that place. This was an injury not to be forgiven lightly. Everybody knows what a county seat fight means. Insult was added by the publication by a St. Ignace printer of a reprint of Strang's *Ancient and Modern Michilimackinac*, with its venomous attacks on the Mackinac Islanders.

The islanders have been somewhat unjustly blamed for the expulsion of the Mormons from Beaver Island. When one remembers that this was the natural refuge for the Cables, Wrights, Coopers, McKinleys, Bennetts and others driven out from Beaver Island and obliged to abandon their property there by the despotic methods of Strang; as well as the asylum for some of his followers, disillusioned and stripped of their all; ample excuse is seen for the efforts against him. After the failure of lawful methods through Strang's astuteness at political maneuvers, the people at St. Helena and Mackinac Island and along the mainland were roused to take what methods they could to right the wrongs they had suffered. This was not done in as lawless and ruthless fashion as is generally supposed, but with far greater regard for the equities than is usually shown in such affairs.

To reprint Strang's ancient slanders was certainly not a neighborly act, especially at a time when the rise of the timber interests was blotting out the importance of the Queen of the Straits. Singularly enough, there seems to have been no

such bitter rivalry between Duncan and Cheboygan and the island, though these two towns drew almost as heavily as did St. Ignace from the importance of the ancient stronghold.

In 1855 the land office had been at Duncan; in the winter of 1857-58 the office, comprising the books, papers and fireproof safe, were conveyed over the ice to the island by Medard Metivier.<sup>27</sup> Cordial relationship between the towns was cemented by the winter entertainments. In 1876, the great sport of the winter was racing, and after a wonderful day of it at Cheboygan, at which participated drivers from Gros Cap, St. Helena and Mackinac Island, there is an account of the "Mackinaw Trot", when the streets of the island were crowded, the hotels filled, and horses came even from Detour and Drummond Island. Young people from Cheboygan and Duncan went to parties at the Island, but it was popular to pretend that St. Ignace was a rough lumbering town, without social distinction. On the other hand, St. Ignace flourished, and her material prosperity soon attracted more and more of the ambitious youth of the island. To the older and less progressive were left the dubious consolations of the "summer business."

But the lumber barons cut off the timber and departed, while the summer resort business grew in importance. In 1892, "the social whirl on the island was in its heyday, with yachting, sailing and riding parties, and important political conferences among its distinguished visitors." Today little is left of the old mills on the mainland, and Cheboygan and St. Ignace are beckoning the tourist trade with new inducements each season.

And Duncan!  
Once the busiest of ports,  
Deserted and dismantled!

Docks where the commerce of the inland seas  
Found ample welcome  
Now but skeletons that point their whitened fingers  
Out of the rippled waters.

<sup>27</sup> The land office was afterwards removed to Traverse City.

Only the stately houses with their overgrown hedges  
Of cedar and lilacs and spirea,  
Stand mute witnesses of grandeur long departed.

Where once were stabled hundreds of horses,  
The grass is growing, wild and luxuriant.  
On the rollways down which thousands of logs were sent,  
The turtle blinks in the sun;  
And where, in years gone by, men jostled and toiled and  
swore and sweated,  
The cranes are flying  
Over Duncan Bay.

For many years the old Mitchell house stood on the Island, a memorial of the fur-trading days. It was a distinguished house both architecturally and historically, and it was a great misfortune that it was finally torn down. The Astor trading house still stands, though altered; and, incorporated into some modern-appearing dwellings, are the old substantial beamed log-houses which the fur companies erected for their employees.

Effectually disguised also is the old house at the corner of Market and Fort Streets, only the foundation walls of the original structure remaining. These were the walls of the famous store room where St. Martin was accidentally wounded, and where Dr. Beaumont started the steps of his world-known experiments by giving him first aid.

The most picturesque building now standing is the old Biddle home, famed on the postcards as the oldest house on the island. Here it was that Edward Biddle, scion of an old and prosperous Philadelphia family, lived with his Indian bride, whose story is well and poetically told in Mina Humphrey Varnum's "A Cinderella of Mackinac Island."<sup>28</sup> This is a romantic paraphrase of the account of Mrs. Elizabeth Thérèse Baird, in her *Reminiscences*.

Here death came to the beautiful girl, the oldest daughter of that union. Her health, it is said, was blighted by the abrupt withdrawal of the attentions of a young officer, who had professed for her the deepest attachment until he found that she was of Indian lineage.

<sup>28</sup>Detroit *Saturday Night*, Aug. 16, 23, 1913.

Along the street where as a child  
     She played beneath the lilac bloom,  
 Still do they tell her sad romance,  
     And point you out her dormer room,  
  
 And the old parlor where she died,  
     Floored with the fragrant mats of grass,  
 From out whose window she could look  
     To see her recreant lover pass.  
  
 That old, old house on Astor Street  
     Has held its meed of joy and care;  
 The goodly garden now is gone  
     And weeds are everywhere,—  
  
 But fancy sees it in the days  
     When its young mistress loved it well,  
 Amid the joys of household ways,  
     Till tragedy befell.  
  
 And romance lingers round it still  
     Along the paths where walked, alone,  
 The victim of a prejudice  
     Not even yet outgrown.

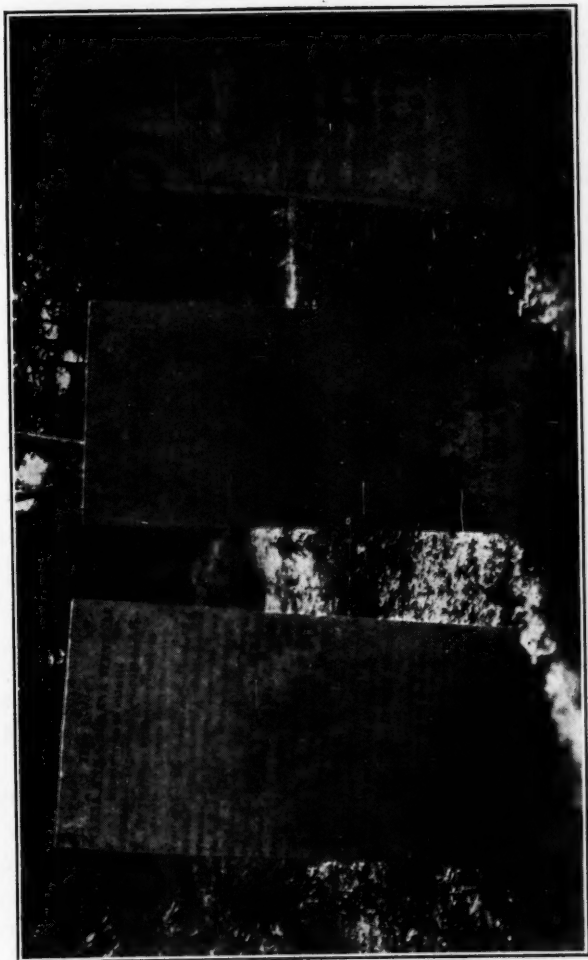
Many interesting particulars can be gathered about the heroine of this love affair, and tales of her beauty and wit are well substantiated.

It has been generally stated that she was educated in Philadelphia in the home of Nicholas Biddle, said to be a brother of her father. According to the chart of the Biddle family as given in the Autobiography of Charles Biddle<sup>29</sup> this Edward was not a brother of Nicholas Biddle of United States Bank fame, nor of John Biddle of Detroit, but a cousin. His father, John, was a loyalist, and was banished to Canada during the Revolution. His only brother was James (who settled at Pittsburgh and married there), and there were four girls in the family.<sup>30</sup>

Edward Biddle was one of the more prominent of the early traders of Mackinac Island, coming there, according to Meade

<sup>29</sup>Phila 1883, in a note to which are given the names of the Mackinac Island Edward Biddle's three children, Sophia, John and Sarah.

<sup>30</sup>This is corroborated by Jordan, Colonial and Revolutionary Families of Pa., I, 161: John (m. Boone) Deputy Quartermaster under Forbes—Royalist in the Revolution—His family came back from Nova Scotia to Pennsylvania. (Evidently the only Royalist in the family, the rest all distinguished in the patriot cause). It may be supposed that Sophia Biddle was named for her father's oldest sister, her middle name for her mother.



Old Stones in Catholic Cemetery on Mackinac Island

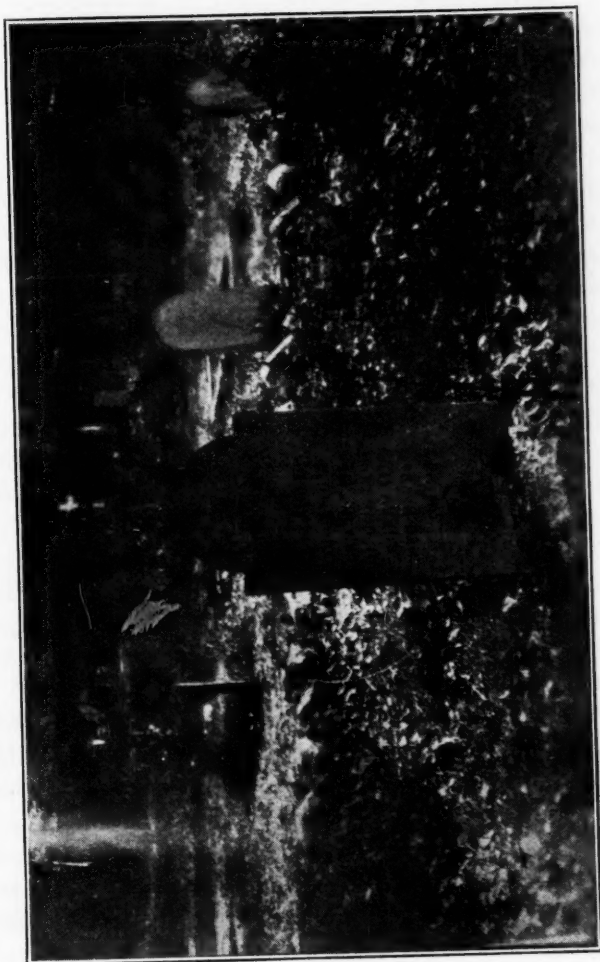
Williams, after the War of 1812. He is mentioned by all the early historians, and Parkman, in his notebook, gives heed to his opinions. Biddle's Point was named for him, and the site of the present golf grounds near the Grand Hotel was long known as Biddle Field. He bought the old house in 1827, some eight years after his marriage. It is supposed to have been built (or at least a part of it) as early as 1780. His trading house, afterward the Biddle & Drew store, stood where now is the Community House. He held positions of trust under Cass, and was twice president of the village of Mackinac.

No record that Sophia ever visited Philadelphia has been found, and the descendants of her sister know of no such visits. She was evidently educated in Detroit where she lived in the family of John Biddle, a cousin of her father's.

In an old scrap-book at the Burton Historical Library, and in Friend Palmer's "Early Days in Detroit", are found references to her sojourn in Detroit. One account speaks of John Biddle as a brother of Nicholas, and describes him as "a gentleman of the old school, Chesterfieldian in manners. Another brother, Edward Biddle, was a fur-trader at Mackinac, where he married the daughter of an Indian chief. His daughter Sophia was a beautiful young lady with raven tresses and a fair complexion. She was a belle of this city (Detroit) in the late thirties, but sickened and died of consumption."

An unusual incident is thus chronicled, "On their return from Washington, July, 1833, [Black Hawk and his son] stopped awhile in Detroit. I saw them both. The son was indeed a fine specimen of the Indian athlete, tall, tawney, muscular,—handsome, too. Wonderfully dressed, he attracted more attention than all the others, especially from the female portion of the community. Received it without betraying the slightest emotion, or the slightest interest in what was going on around him. I have seen many good specimens of the Indian, but I think this son of Black Hawk excelled them all;





In the old Catholic Cemetery on Mackinac Island



a noble specimen of physical beauty, a model for one who would embody an ideal of strength.

"Young Black Hawk fell desperately in love with a prominent society belle and wanted to honor her by making her his squaw. She declined the proffered dignity for reasons best known to herself, but she never married. The lady was Miss Sophia Biddle of Mackinac Island."

It was while at Detroit that Sophia Biddle is said to have won the heart of Lieutenant John C. Pemberton, of the Fourth United States Artillery. He came of an old Philadelphia family, always more or less friendly with the Biddles. To all his protestations she made but one answer, "You must first see my mother." Somewhat puzzled by this, he was yet forced to wait. Transferred to Mackinac Island, he lost no time in calling at the Biddle home. Mrs. Edward Biddle always wore her Indian dress, and she spoke only Indian and French. When he saw her, the dapper young lieutenant turned and fled, nevermore to enter that door. One account says that Sophia was watching from an upper window. Another account says that she was present at the meeting; that he turned to her and said, "What, is this *your* mother!", then left abruptly, without other explanation or farewell. Martha Tanner, who nursed Sophia through her last illness, is the authority for the latter version.<sup>31</sup>

Was Pemberton's conduct prophetic of the way in which he was to turn from the flag he had sworn to defend? If so, his defeat at Vicksburg was sufficient reward for his wavering in love and war.

Sophia is said to have been unusually lovely, with dark hair and blue eyes, tall and slender, exceedingly fair. Martha Tanner used to tell that she always carried her head a bit to one side, like a flower drooping on its stem.

The mother had also a very fair complexion. It is averred by some that she could not have been wholly of Indian blood.

<sup>31</sup>Martha Tanner is the narrator of one of the legends recorded by Grace Franks Kane in "Myths and Legends of the Mackinacs," "The Manitous," "which she chanted for my pen," says Mrs. Kane. She is the subject of a fine tribute in the article by Judge Steere, in *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXII, 246.

This supposition is borne out by a genealogy owned by one of her descendants, which gives her father's name as De La Vigne, her mother's as Mary Le Fevre. But there is no claim on the part of the family that she was not of Indian blood. She was said to have had unusual dignity and poise, and great gentleness. She was very neat. She had a wonderful flower garden at the rear of the old house. Dr. Anna Kelton, the widow of Dwight H. Kelton, author of the *Annals of Fort Mackinac*, remembers her well, and her pleasant manners and exceedingly fair complexion even in old age. Dr. Bailey says, "Mrs. Edward Biddle was an Indian of queenly appearance; she dressed in Indian costume, the finest black and blue broadcloth beautifully ornamented with silk and moosehair work."<sup>22</sup>

She had seven children, several of whom died in infancy. Only three lived to maturity. Little Mary died at the very hour when Sarah was born. John, the son, lived to an honorable old age on the Island, holding the office of county clerk for over twenty years, and various other positions of honor. Sarah, the younger girl, married and lived to the age of ninety. Her husband was a lieutenant in the Civil War; her daughter has his commission, signed by the Governor of New York.

Besides her own children, Mrs. Edward Biddle brought up seven children that she from time to time took into her home in the hospitable and traditional Indian and French way,—one when it was a mere infant. Her given name was Agathe, and this name is commemorated by that of one of her descendants, spelled "Agatha", but pronounced "Agatha", with the accent on the second syllable as in the French name. In this young woman, it is easy to trace the heritage of Sophia's beauty, the tall, slender, lissome figure, the blue eyes, dark hair and wonderfully fair complexion. There is also glimpsed more than a suggestion of the individuality and charm that made her great-aunt the belle of an adoring circle.

Sophia is said to have had a mischievous sense of humor. A deeply enamoured swain called on her one evening at the

<sup>22</sup>Bailey, *Mackinac*, ed. 1897, p. 180.

island to bid her farewell before one of her visits to Detroit. She transported him to the seventh heaven by asking for a lock of his hair to take with her for remembrance. So bewitched was he by her beauty that he did not notice that during his call she from time to time would hold the lock over the candle, until by the time he left it was wholly consumed. Witchery indeed to have lulled both the sense of sight and of smell into oblivion by her fascinating smiles.

In spite of some diversions and the company of her family, it is evident that she was lonely on the Island. After the gay winters she had passed in Detroit, she may well have missed that circle of friends. A letter written to her by Mrs. John Biddle, expresses the latter's solicitude over a letter that Sophia had written to her. It is dated at Wyandotte, December 27, 1839.

....."accuse your friends of neglecting you. Had I known her sister would be with your mother [this winter, we] would have asked you to come down. At the time you left us there was every prospect of your having more gaiety at Mackinac than I could promise you here, and I thought your parents might think it unreasonable to take you so often from them when your society was so important to them in the long winter evenings..... Mamma is spending her winter in Philadelphia with Cousin Mary.... While (James Claypoole) was in Philadelphia, he was passing W. [N?] Biddle's and was so sure he saw you at the window that he was on the point of going in. It must have been Meta, who is tall and has dark hair and eyes, and there may be some slight family resemblance. ....I thought much of your father when the Whigs were successful in Michigan. I wish since you sent a Democrat from Mackinac you had given us our staunch man ... King. His vote for the Major would be important." She complains that the Major will not electioneer..... "James was delighted to hear Sarah is going to school and could speak English. He wants to know how far she has got in spelling and whether she can beat him.....I had the

pleasure of knowing Melinda Scott very well in former times, and am glad for your sake she is spending the winter in Mackinac.....W. Woodbridge, an aide of the General's, is reported as carrying on a desperate flirtation with Eliza Kercheval."

It is a long letter, and every word breathes genuine affection for Sophia, and shows the intimate place that she held in the writer's family. Major John Biddle is extravagantly praised by all the historians of early Detroit a "prince of gentlemen",—one chronicler says—scarce are there adjectives enough for them. This letter of his wife's shows that she was not inferior to him in mind and heart, and their evident affection for Sophia is a testimony to her worth, and evidence of the position she had attained in their social affairs.<sup>33</sup>

The reference to Sarah's schooling is of interest, as it was perhaps her sister's school she attended. Sophia taught the children her mother had befriended, and the little sister may have been included in this class for awhile. Sophia was evidently not an idle girl. She was exceedingly deft with her needle. Several of her needle books are kept as treasures in the family. Mrs. Kane's reference<sup>34</sup> is evidently to Sophia rather than to the "youngest daughter," who was living long after the incident mentioned,—“and the little sewing basket with its gold thimble was found with the needle sticking in the lace she had been sewing.”

Mrs. Baird asserts that for a time Sophia turned against her mother and her mother's religion, but Martha Tanner said that she was always an affectionate and respectful daughter.

At that time on the island there was certainly much controversy over religion. In Mrs. Baird's *Reminiscences* and in Rezak's *History of the Diocese*, the Catholic sentiment is expressed; in Mrs. Eliza Chappell Porter's letters is shown something of the Protestant side. It is evident that proselyt-

<sup>33</sup>For social life in Detroit, 1830—, and the position of the Biddles, see Fuller, *Economic and Social Beginnings of Michigan*, 149-150.

<sup>34</sup>*Mich. Hist. Mag.*, X, 341.

ing knew no bounds. It must have been a bewildering thing for the poor Indians to know which side to take. It was a doubly hard situation for a young girl whose father's and mother's affiliations were different. During her stay in Detroit, Sophia had attended the Episcopalian services, and her brother was afterward educated in an Episcopalian school. What effect this creedal rivalry may have had on the mind of one who had suffered so great a blow to her faith in humanity as had this young and beautiful girl, can only be conjectured. It could not have added to her happiness; but the way in which her memory is cherished in the family of her younger sister, who had told so many tales of her to children and grandchildren, is assurance that Martha Tanner was right, and that she never wavered in her loyalty and devotion to her mother. Sarah's daughter was named for her, and the relics of the girlhood of the beautiful great-aunt are kept reverently in the family. After her death, Sophia's room was closed and so remained until the death of her mother.

There is a legend that some years after Sophia's death, Lieutenant Pemberton came to visit her grave, and that it was he who caused to be placed upon the then plain tombstone the chiselled rose that now ornaments it.

A rose for her, my island rose  
That was so dear to me.  
O how could I have given up  
A flower so sweet as she?

A rose for her, my island rose,  
Though of hard stone it be,  
No harder than the proud, cold heart,  
That wrought its will in me.

A rose for her, my island rose,—  
And tears for joys long lost,  
And tears throughout the bitter years  
That I must count the cost!

The incident of the lover's visit to the grave is mentioned in a book of Marion Harland's, entitled "With The Best Intentions," wherein the officer's identity is thinly veiled under the title of "General ————, of the Confederate service."



Sophia Biddle's grave



This account somewhat palliates the conduct of the General. It credits him with having been a Southerner. He was a Philadelphian, but he married a Virginian girl in 1848, the year of Sophia's death. During the time between his marriage and his first visit to the island, where he came after hard fighting in the Seminole War, he had participated with brilliancy in the Mexican War, and had been advanced to the rank of Major, and presented with a sword by his native state, at Philadelphia. He died near Philadelphia in 1881.

In the days when lovely Sophia Biddle voyaged from Mackinac to Detroit to reign as one of the belles of that growing city, she had no such choice of routes as has the traveller of today. For many years there were no passenger ships on the lakes. The "Old Brigg Adams" carried mail, passengers and produce in 1802 and thereabouts (Burton Hist. Coll. Leaflet, II, 4) though it was a government boat; and probably the "sloop of seventy tons burden", used by Wilkinson for his voyage in 1797, was a fur-trader's cargo boat, built and sailed in mercantile ventures. The first *Michigan* had done duty as a war department boat and a carrier, and the second *Michigan* (so-called for more than sixty-five years, now the *Wolverine*) was similarly employed. There were so few boats of that size, it was necessary to make all sorts of uses of what there were. Later, the "palatial steamer" also named *Michigan*, was a much appreciated visitor. Elizabeth Whitney Williams tells of the joy on the islands at her first appearance in the spring, and gives a graphic account of one of her last trips in the late fall.<sup>35</sup>

Most of the early tourists to Mackinac suffered so with seasickness after they passed into Lake Huron, that there are few descriptions of the part of the voyage between Saginaw Bay and Mackinac. An account recently appeared in Detroit Saturday Night, from the diary of a woman passenger on the first trip of the *Superior* to Green Bay in 1831. She writes, the passing of Saginaw Bay was "the dread of all the timid of

<sup>35</sup>*Child of the Sea.*

the party, as it is the only time we entirely lose sight of land." Sunday, August 7, they landed at Mackinac and attended church. "The authorities would not allow the Sabbath to be violated by taking wood on board, we were, therefore annoyed from twelve until two in the morning by the throwing and piling wood." On the return trip to Mackinac, they landed on a week-day, Tuesday August twelfth. "Some of the party walked, after tea, to the Mission sustained by Bostonians. They have a school attended by one hundred and two scholars. The Catholics also have a school of twenty-five or thirty pupils."

Today in summer there are numerous ways to get to Detroit from Mackinac. But the "summer people" often ask, "how do they manage in winter?"

The *Algomah*, the steamer that meets the trains at Mackinaw City and takes passengers to the island, is taken off the route in the early fall. After that, visitors for the island must go on the State ferries, the *St. Ignace* and the *Mackinaw City*, or on the railroad ferry, the *Chief Wawatam*, to St. Ignace, and from there cross on the *Elva*, to Mackinac Island.

The *Elva* is the little boat that makes the "Snows" run in summer. Her commander on this run is usually the well known Captain Louis Goudreau, the only man who can take her through the "Snows" Channels when the water is so low as it has been for a long time. The boat does not stop at Goose Island, celebrated by Henry and Hubbard, although the Captain is the sole owner of this "lovely little spot" so enthusiastically described by Marryat; but goes far to the West of it, and makes for Hessel. In winter the "Snows" run is given up.

The *Elva* makes the Island from St. Ignace as long as the channel is open, with occasional visits to Cheboygan when the weather permits. One fall the *Perry*, that in summer plies between Cheboygan and the Island, made a thrilling rescue, battling through thickening ice, to get a man on Bois Blanc Island who had been wounded in cutting trees.

Sometimes the *Elva* has to land at Chimney Rock, when it is too stormy to make the harbor of the island. Sometimes she can only put off mail, without transferring passengers or getting the return mail. Sometimes she goes to the north of the Island and comes into the dock that way, when the straits are frozen, while the lake is still open. As the ice grows thicker, the *Chief Wawatam* sometimes turns aside to break a path for her through the pack.

After the ice is formed, dog-teams can go across long before it is safe for horses. An island item from the St. Ignace Republican-News of January 24, 1925, says, "The mail was taken to St. Ignace across the ice for the first time on Thursday, and the dog-team was on the job, merrily, with jingling sleighbells."

Later, horses and sleighs can be driven over. There is always the chance of breaking through, and then they choke the horses with a strap to make them float, just as the Indians used to do with their ponies, and salvage what they can of the load.

On January 8, 1927, a Mackinac Island item in the St. Ignace paper says, "The Arnold mailboat is still making the crossing, and we missed the mails only one day, when the *Elva* became fast in the car-ferry's channel, and had to stay there till the big boat came along and freed her."

January 15, the same year, "George Litchard brought over the mail from St. Ignace Wednesday and Thursday with a dog-team. Yesterday he made the trip with a horse". On January 29, the Island correspondent says, "The ice is at best a treacherous critter. The mail-carrier coming from St. Ignace Saturday morning made the crossing with a twenty-four hundred pound load in perfect safety; going back over the same track, his horse went through off Chimney Rock though fortunately the animal was extricated safely".

The same paper in March tells of the funeral at Mackinac Island of an old and respected citizen, James E. Quinlan, a prominent educator of the district. "The entire island turned

out, but the ice condition interposed an effectual barrier that prevented the obsequies being a proposed demonstration from all of Mackinac County. It was impossible to get across to the island. A brother and two sisters came that morning and were put off the big car-ferry on the ice whither a party from the island had cautiously made their way with a dog-sleigh and boat, to meet them; another sister could not make the perilous attempt. The younger brother of the deceased had come the day before, and he walked over, taking his life in his hands in making the journey. Captain Goudreau of the *Elva* did his best to get the boat ready to try the journey even if only into safe ice on the other side, but it could not be done".

A column in the Cheboygan Tribune in February, 1928, laments that "The uncertain condition of the ice between Bois Blanc and Mackinac Island is causing Bois Blanc islanders a great deal of anxiety and upsetting their business plans. The ice between the two places is so erratic that wood deliveries have been prevented, thus isolating Mackinac Island from a source of fuel and Bois Blanc from a source of cash and trade. The unsafe crossing has also endangered life..... Richardson says that he walked across to Mackinac Saturday and found the expanse perfectly safe. He was taking Warden John Bible across for medical treatment. But twenty minutes after landing, he says, he looked out and saw a black line, seemingly about eight feet wide, between the ice and the shore. The road on which he had crossed was moving out. ....Bois Blanc islanders say that an average of one person a year loses his life in attempting to cross the treacherous water road. As yet, the same providence which has given Cheboygan a mild winter, has kept all trying the transit, so far as is known, from falling victims to the icy waters of the straits."

Saturday, March 3, 1928, "Davey Bunker crossed to St. Ignace on Tuesday [from Mackinac Island] with a dog team. He was the first person to make a start and on the following morning Captain Goudreau of the *Elva*, had his crew, Thomp-

son and Lavake, bring the mail, walking across, and pushing a boat with runners on. On their return to St. Ignace, Mr. and Mrs. P. R. Bogan made the trip with them. The ice is reported to vary from three to eight inches thick.<sup>36</sup>

The perils of the crossing before the big ice-crusher, the *Chief Wawatam*, was in service, were keenly felt. All winter long the only way to get from the Upper to the Lower Peninsula, unless round by Canada or Chicago, was walking or driving across the ice.

In 1876, an item in the Cheboygan Free Press, reads, "The Mackinac mail has not been received for two weeks. There is no way of communicating with our island friends at present, but we presume they are all there." A week later the mail arrived. "The carrier reports the crossing very difficult and dangerous. He left Mackinac on Thursday and was obliged to camp on Bois Blanc until Sunday before he could find an opening to cross."

January 20, 1880, the Cheboygan Democrat says, "The crossing of the Straits should be properly brushed between Pointe La Barbe and the lighthouse [McGulpin's]. For a mile and a half there is (sic) no bushes and accidents are likely to occur if it is not attended to at once. Strangers should not attempt to cross without a guide." Mrs. Kane refers to this "brushing" to mark the path in her account of her wedding journey,<sup>37</sup> "Green boughs marked the trail."<sup>38</sup>

There was even then talk of a better way. D. Farrand Henry, "who spent the winter at St. Ignace, studied the problem of crossing the Straits during winter, he says that a powerful ferry would have no difficulty".<sup>39</sup> But there were those who criticised this plan; one man says, Feb. 9, "the *Algomah* could cross but could not land; the ice is piled too high on the shore,—any ferry would have that trouble."

<sup>36</sup>St. Ignace, *Rep. News*, Mackinac Island Correspondent.

<sup>37</sup>*Mich. Hist. Mag.*, X, 332.

<sup>38</sup>Between Mackinac Island and Cheboygan.

<sup>39</sup>Cheboygan *Democrat*, April 7, 1881.

In spite of argument, the gap was finally bridged, first by one boat, then another<sup>40</sup> until in the *Chief Wawatam* was reached the most satisfactory solution of the vexatious problem of uniting the Upper to the Lower Peninsula all the year round.

The Ferry.

Oh, the little ferries, they run in summer,  
And they're right good ferries, too;  
But the Chief Wawatam runs all winter,  
Goes right on through.

Through slush and ice with the wind a-howling,  
And a blinding snow-storm, too;  
The good Wawatam, the Chief Wawatam,  
Goes right on through.

Sometimes surrounded by stubborn ice-packs,  
Held fast for a day or two,  
By steadily working, the old Wawatam,  
Goes right on through.

Comes word of need on Mackinac Island,  
There are sick folks over there, too,  
So a path is cut for the little Elva,  
To go right on through.

A state divided by deep, dark waters,  
Treacherous currents, too,  
Yet the old Wawatam, the Chief Wawatam,  
Ploughs right on through.

A bridge in summer and a bridge in winter,  
In fall and springtime, too;  
The railroad ferry, big Chief Wawatam,  
Goes right on through.

February 23, 1928.

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<sup>40</sup>*Mich. Hist. Mag.*, IX, 363.



*expressing and in mining* 598-60 66-67

CORNISH MINERS OF THE UPPER PENINSULA

BY JAMES E. JOPLING

MARQUETTE

*Cornwall, mining* 556-9

THE Cornish miners who emigrated from England and settled in the Copper and Iron District introduced very many of the mining terms and working conditions now in general use. They brought with them their dialect, which, together with their manners and customs and strong forms of religious belief, all of which expressed with a racial strength of character and intellect make them the most interesting of the various ethnic types that settled in the Upper Peninsula of Michigan.

The present object is to note the effect of this immigration, more especially in showing the mining terms and phrases. For this purpose the principal emphasis of this article will be to relate at some length a description of Cornwall, giving the history of the origin of mining terms and then to illustrate the use of a few of them, concluding with some general remarks on the characteristics of the Cornishmen.

The story of the Cornish mining terms can be traced through the many words and phrases used at the mines of the Upper Peninsula of Michigan. Cornishmen were the principal miners who took part in the development of these mines during the past 80 years or more. It was after 1840 that the copper and iron mines of the Lake Superior region were gradually opened. At that period the copper and tin mines of Cornwall had reached their peak of production and relative value of the product. Those mines had been worked in a small way for many centuries and it was only the introduction of steam driven machinery in the latter part of the eighteenth century which enabled the miners to sink their shafts below water

Read at a meeting of the Michigan Historical Society at Mackinac Island, July 29, 1927.

level and hoist the ore from greater depths. By this development a large number of men had been trained in the work and as the Cornish mines became exhausted, they sought employment in other mining districts. The Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collection contains in Volume XI an article by John H. Foster 1887 entitled "Life in the Copper Mines of Lake Superior" which tells of such Cornishmen.

My own experience in Cornish mining terms in the Upper Peninsula began some 45 years ago when I became a mining engineer. At that time in the Upper Peninsula of Michigan nearly all the superintendents, or captains as they are called, in charge of the mines were Cornish, as well as the shift bosses and most of the miners. A knowledge of the principal terms was naturally an every day necessity and with it came an acquaintance of the Cornish dialect spoken by the men, many of whom had emigrated to the United States a few years before that date. This dialect was most pronounced, differing from the other dialects of England. It had followed the gradual dying out of the Cornish language from 200 to 300 years ago, but even in Cornwall itself there were differences in speech so that among the Cornish the very town from which a man came could be identified by hearing him speak.

The Cornish language, from which originated many of the terms and more particularly the names of places and people, was Celtic or Keltic and belonged to the third division of that language known as the Brythonic similar to that spoken by the ancient Bretons of France. These Celts, who were a fair-haired, blue-eyed people of great stature, conquered the older races in the Southwestern part of England and imposed their language. This differs considerably from that of the Welsh and Irish and still more from the Gaelic.

The dialects of Cornwall were established gradually, following the intercourse with the Saxon Conquerors of England. Even in Cornwall itself the dialect of the West division differs greatly from that of the Eastern, which is more like that of Devonshire.

In Cornwall a change in speech has continued so that when I visited it in 1905 it was to be noted that the dialect was hardly spoken at all in the towns but still could be heard in the outlying villages.

My visit to Cornwall was a delightful experience, although but for a week, and that just before the Christmas of 1905. The weather resembled that of the Indian Summer, as we call such weather in Michigan. The country has been described by many writers who speak in glowing terms of the scenery. The high rocky hills rising from the moors, the cultivated valleys protected from the high winds, the rugged coast of the Atlantic Ocean all make wonderful contrasts which delight the artist.

One of the interesting experiences was that of going down the Dolcoath Mine, which was then 1800 feet in depth, or three hundred fathoms, as the miners term it. On my arrival in the Cambourne mining region, it was impressive to see the many evidences of mining operations. There were the active mines, indicated in the distance by the shaft houses and engine houses and the tall brick stacks of the boilers, but besides these, and scattered far and wide, were the remains of former operations more or less ancient with great piles of loose rock or waste from the mines, the old buildings, more or less in ruin, and numerous excavations scattered over the hills. Along the stream beds which wound among the rocky hills and on their courses toward the sea, there were the stamp mills where the ore was crushed and the richer portions extracted.

Tin and other ores have been mined in Cornwall for ages, because even among the remains of the stone age there have been found implements and ancient workings in the mineral deposits. Previous to the Roman occupation, the history of mining in Cornwall is largely traditional. It is certain that tin was produced at an early age, together with some gold and silver. The tin became an important item of trading in early commerce on the sea and the records show that it was brought to Greece as early as about 300 B. C. There is enough evidence to show that it was also carried at a much earlier date and it is

generally believed that the Phoenicians monopolized the trade for a long period. It may have been used in Egypt at even an earlier date. It was used in making bronze and for other purposes, such as fixing the Tyrian Purple.

Besides tin and copper, the ancients found a little gold which occurs but rarely. Silver is found in considerable quantities in galena, which is the ore of lead, the lodes occurring principally in the limestone. This ore in Cornwall in several mines averaged more than five dollars to the ton in silver, besides the lead values. Some zinc and deposits of arsenic have been worked and small quantities of nickel and cobalt have been found, besides many of the minerals, including uranium, the ore of radium.

The list of names of Cornish mines would be a long one as it is said that there were over 300 but a few of them are given as an example. In the Western District near Lands' End are the Botallack and St. Ives. In the West Central are the Dolcoath and Carn Brea. The East Central has the Polgooth and Huell Trelawney.

Most of these mines are leased and the payments are termed royalty because all the minerals formerly were owned by the Crown of England. The term royalty is now generally used for payments of mineral leases, even in the United States. The area of the leased ground was limited by the boundaries, or bounds, as they were called, and the lessor was known as the bounder, which perhaps was the origin of the term of contempt.

At any rate, the method of collecting payments for leased property is not so rough as that recorded in a lease dated 1330, which contains the clause, "that once a year for ever the Reeve of said Manor of Lamborn shall come to Godolphin and there boldly enter the hall, jump upon the table or table board, and stamp or bounce with his feet or club to alarm and give notice to the people of his approach and then and there make proclamation aloud three times 'oyez, oyez, oyez, I come here to demand the old rent duties and customs upon which there is to be brought him two and eight pence in rent, a large

quart of strong beer, a wheaten loaf worth sixpence and a cheese of like value' ”.

China clay and china stone are produced in Cornwall and Devonshire to the extent of over nine hundred thousand tons a year. They occur as a decomposition of the granite rocks. The product is refined and exported, not only to factories in England but to those in the continent of Europe and elsewhere. These refineries, together with the stamp mills and washing plants and furnaces for the other minerals, are to be found in many places in Cornwall. Other industries have been attracted, such as the manufacture of explosives and mining machinery of various kinds.

The mining industry in 1905 gave employment to 6,500 and the china clay works and quarries to another 6,000.

The mineral production of Cornwall averaged over five million dollars worth for several years. Copper ore alone for 126 years ending 1875 was worth over 250 million dollars. In 1865 Cornwall produced three-quarters of the world's output of copper and almost all the tin. For the past several years the mineral production of Cornwall has decreased, largely due to foreign competition, and at the present there are only a few mines working.

The alternative industry in Cornwall is that of fishing along the many miles of sea coast. The value of the fish caught has averaged over a million dollars a year and employed 4,000 people. Pilchards used as sardines and the mackerel are among the many kinds of fish. Many of the fishing expeditions were conducted many miles from land so that the Cornish have become noted in history as mariners seeking adventures.

The mild climate of Cornwall is suited to gardening, especially in the valleys. It is surprising to see the variety and growth of many plants and flowers, due largely to the absence of frost, so that even palm trees and other tropical plants are to be found near the sea coast.

To the historian, great interest is found in studying the records of the past in order to explain the varied evidences of

not only the ruins of castles and other buildings, but still older habitations shown by fragments of walled enclosures and the fogous or artificial caves. There are also the monuments, stone crosses, cromlechs, etc., to be found on the hill sides. From a later age there are the old churches situated in all the towns and villages.

The history of the early ages is of course largely mythical and can be followed only in a general way to show the various occupations of Cornwall by the early traders, or the successive races who have conquered it.

The Saxon Conquest became a slow process of amalgamation of the races and it was not until the time of the Tudors that Cornishmen became prominent in the affairs of the Nation. The Civil War during the Stuarts produced many men well known in English history, both in the Parliament and also in the fields of battle and upon the sea.

The mining terms of the Cornish, in use during the past fifty years and more, are mostly old English words given a particular meaning. Many of them are Celtic, more particularly among the names of places, while a few are older still, showing traces of the Roman occupation, and previous intercourse with the nations bordering the Mediterranean sea.

These Cornish words are to be found in the mine glossaries and include several hundred, many of which are in common use. The following are a few examples with their meanings:

*LODE*—A vein of ore probably derived from the verb "to lead".

*SKEP OR SKIP*—The bucket-like receptacle in which ore is hoisted to surface.

*VUG*—A cavity.

*BAL OR WHEAL*—The words denoting a mine.

*WHIM*—The capstan used in raising ore for smaller operations.

*STOPE*—The chamber or excavation in which the mining operations are carried on.

*SUMP*—The place where water is collected in the mine.



Many of these words and expressions are more or less humorous, such as:

*A BRAVE KEENLY LODE*—A fine lode of ore.

*GRASS CAPTAIN*—A surface boss.

*DEADS*—Waste rock.

*DERRICK*—A digger or miner.

*MAD WATER*—That which runs back in the mine by neglect.

*JIG*—A vibrating machine used in separating crushed ore from rock.

*HUNGRY*—Poor ore.

The Cornish vocabulary is rich and varied in expressions of mining and every day life.

The search for hidden minerals has always been a fascinating one where so much depends on luck. Many superstitions have grown, especially among the Celtic races, but none more so than the practice of dowsing. A forked stick of hazel about 3 feet long is held by the two hands, while the stem is supposed to point to the lode. From personal experience, all I can say is that the forked stick did play me some tricks when my Cornish friends in America initiated me in the art. First, I was led blind-folded over the known veins, during which they told me the hazel twig made several bends. I was allowed to see for myself when the blind was removed. They told me I was a good subject for the experiment. Why the twig pointed downward when passing over a vein, or over water, I do not know and leave it to the more scientific. Engineers in employment of capital are supposed to use more customary methods of exploring.

As a further illustration of using Cornish mining terms, the following is given:

Costeams or test pits and trenches are delved along the lode and if the vein is alive and seems "kindly" or "keenly" the explorations are continued by sinking a shaft.

Beginning at the collar of the shaft, the work progressed by at least a pair of men with drill, also called borer but pro-

nounced boyer, and striking hammer, by which holes were drilled in the rock. When a sufficient number had been drilled, they were filled with explosives and this was followed by a blast. The men who shovel the loose rock were called the muckers, or shovellers. This was hoisted to surface in a bucket, or kibble, or skip.

When a given number of fathoms had been sunk on the lode, a level was cut out and drifting along it was begun. The accumulating water was run into a sump and pumped to surface. The ore was formerly raised by man power, or a horse-driven whim, but later by use of steam-driven machinery.

In deep mines, forty or more years ago, the Cornish pump was used having a steam engine on surface and by means of a crank and fly wheel the pump rods were alternately pushed up and down in the shaft, the pump itself being over the sump. These pump rods were used by the miners, going up or down on them, and were termed the man engine. The miners stepped from small platforms eight or ten feet apart and fastened to the rods, so that they could descend or ascend by merely stepping from one rod to the other as it reached the end of the stroke. The level was driven the full length of the paying portion of the lode, the drift being called an end, the greater quantity of the ore being mined in what is called a stope which might be overhand or underhand. The gunnis or opening was kept abroad by stulls or timbers, which might be of the clap-me-down style, or might be filled with square sets which are timbers framed so as to occupy a cube about 7 feet to the set. The ore might be broken in what are called breast stopes where the support of the roof is by leaving pillars of ore. The size of the pillars and openings varies from 10 feet to perhaps 50 feet with the nature of the ground and the miners are guided by past experience. The term room and pillar method is used for flatter beds of ore and sometimes is called the pillar and chamber system, but in most cases the ore is mined in open stopes by some variation of the systems mentioned. The broken ore is loaded into tram cars running on rails.

Where the workings are far from the shaft through which the ore is hoisted to surface, the cost of the tunnels or main drifts on the levels is very high. To work the mines with fewer main levels, the system of sub-stoping is adopted. The ore is mined in stopes as usual but is trammed only as far as winzes or raises put up from the main levels.

Besides going down the Dolcoath Mine, I visited the stamp mills where the tin ore was separated from the rock. This was an interesting process because so many of the old methods were still in use. Women at that time were still employed in the mills, as well as men, and were called Bal Maidens. Bal is the Celtic word for a mine. They were working with brooms in the operation of a plane table or buddle, which is used to separate the fine tin ore, the result of crushing from the sand or dredgy ores. The deads or waste rock, sometimes called the gatchers, are further worked by those who have inherited rights on the streams where the fines are again separated on what are known as the sleeping tables.

It will be noted from the above that while many of the names of places show the Celtic origin, as do also some of the mining terms, yet most of the latter are English. The Cornish language was disappearing during the 17th and 18th centuries and there are few written records of it. The principal are a few ancient manuscripts mostly of miracle plays which were composed in the middle ages. These appear to be original compositions by Cornish priests and were similar in character to other miracle plays. In one entitled "The Creation of the World", which was written in 1504, there occur a number of English words. This, however, may show the Cornishman's love of a joke because the English words were those spoken by the Devil and his angels. The scene of the play is supposed to be Palestine but it abounds with local Cornish hits, such as the man who says "I will bore a hole. There is not a fellow West of Hayle who can bore a better".

Since the beginning of the 17th century, the records of the county of Cornwall were kept in English and the literature has

become merged with that of the rest of England. There are many writers past and present who have found in Cornwall a fund of stories and legends, the most noted of the latter being Tennyson's *Idyls of the King* describing Arthur and his court. Of the former, Lorna Doone by Blackmore, the scene of which is Eastwards in Devonshire. Many of the modern writers live in Cornwall and give impressions drawn from its scenery which is so varied in contrasts. A large colony of artists has also been attracted to Cornwall and the exhibitions of painting in London always include scenes from its coasts.

Since coming to the United States, the Cornishmen have continued to work along these lines. As stated, the early mine managers or captains were given authority to open the deposits in a similar manner. The rapid development of the mines, the introduction of modern machinery and the more favorable wages and working places have improved the living conditions of the men. The Cornish miner is independent and resents what he thinks is too much interference. He stops work when the captain visits his working place.

Among the mining men, there have been a number who have continued to improve their opportunities until they have acquired large holdings in the companies for which they worked, or have opened mines of their own so that they have become leading men in the mining world. Again there are numerous others who have entered many lines of business in which they have become successful. Fortunately a number of these men who can be reckoned as friends have furnished information on the subject of Cornwall and the Cornish and to them my greatest thanks are due. Among these is Superintendent T. J. Nicholas of Palmer, Mr. Alfred Nicholls, Superintendent of Schools at Dollar Bay, Osceola Township, Houghton County. Mr. George Tucker, Jr., Past Supreme President of the American Order Sons of St. George; also Mr. Walter F. Gries, Commissioner of Marquette County Schools, who will give you a selection of humorous Cornish stories in dialect.

The Cornish miners have emigrated in great numbers to all the mining districts of the world, so that it is possible to find them, not only in the mines of the Lake Superior District, but in all the metal mines of the United States. The newspapers of Cornwall give the whereabouts of old friends, now in all the continents. In New York there is published the Cornish Arms Hotel Bulletin by Sid Blake, which gives the same kind of information.

There is also the Order of the Sons of St. George, which in Northern Michigan consists mainly of Cornishmen. By this and various other means, the Cornish keep in touch with one another and the old world. In citizenship and all duties of government, the Cornishmen may be said to have been merged into the population of the United States and of course this process of amalgamation will continue.

Many of these Cornish may be known by their names. The old rhyme goes:

By Tre, Ros, Car, Lan, Pol and Pen  
You may know all Cornishmen.

Tre means house, Ros a heath, Car a camp, Lan a land, Pol a pool and Pen is a headland.

Cornwall has produced many men noted for inventions and improvements, such as Sir Humphrey Davy, who invented the safety lamp used in coal mines and many other appliances, and Richard Trevithick, who improved the steam engines, and William Bickford, who invented the safety fuse. Many have carried with them the systems of mining developed in Cornwall and have introduced them in most of the mining districts of the world. Among the Cornish and their descendents, not only Michigan but the United States can count a number of her prominent citizens, especially in the mining district.

The strong vitality of the Cornish race, which has shown its love of adventure despite the dangers, is apparent in their love of sports such as wrestling matches, for which they are famous. They are also famous for their singing and especially for their songs and carols. It is shown in other ways in their

time of leisure and when Cornishmen gather together there is sure to be good company and amusement for they are fond of a joke, as their many dialect stories testify.

The Cornishman is full of humor—sometimes it takes the form of practical jokes, which are hard on the victim, but for the most part it is of a kindly nature, often keenly pointed, and in the form of correction to hurtful absurdities. The Cornishman is one of the few people who enjoy jokes the subject of which is their own peculiarity, and in company they never tire of telling them, even if the story fits themselves. "Cousin Jack" is the name given to stories of this type.

The history of Cornwall shows a determined race of men, who in their comparative isolation, developed habits of industry and courage, needed in their venturesome work of mining, in which they were helped by their sons, who became accustomed to hard work at an early age. This developed character and fortitude and also made them resourceful when meeting new conditions, leading to improvements in mining methods. Among such a race of men, earnest of purpose and exposed to danger, it is natural that many of them are deeply religious, all of which has produced a stronger individuality than is to be found among men from the other counties of England, whether in economic or social conditions, in history, nomenclature or tradition.

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ADDITIONAL LIST OF CORNISH MINING TERMS USED IN THE  
UNITED STATES

(These are a few of those given in the glossaries)

- ADIT**—Mine opening at surface level.  
**ALIVE**—Productive part of a lode.  
**ATTLE**—Rubbish.  
**BACK**—The roof of a mine opening.  
**BACK STOPE**—Mining the back.  
**BAIL**—Handle of bucket.  
**BALK**—A square timber.  
**BRACE**—The mouth of a shaft.  
**BURROW**—Heap of refuse rock.  
**CHIMNEY**—An ore shoot.  
**CLACK**—Pump valve.  
**COBBING**—Sorting ore.  
**COLLAR**—The mouth of a shaft.  
**CORE or COOR**—A shift's work.  
**COSTEAN**—Test pit.  
**CRAB**—A small hoist.  
**DAG**—Axe.  
**DRESSING**—Sorting ore.  
**FITCHER**—To stick fast, as a drill.  
**FORK**—The bottom of a sump.

- GAD*—A steel wedge.  
*GOB*—Waste rock in the mine.  
*HORSE*—A mass of country rock lying within a vein.  
*KIBBLE*—A bucket.  
*LAGGING*—Part of the timbering of a mine.  
*LEADER*—A small vein of ore leading to a larger body.  
*LEARY*—Empty.  
*LEVEL*—Mine workings at stated depths.  
*MALLET*—Hammer.  
*MUNDIC*—Iron pyrites.  
*PASS*—A chute.  
*PLAT*—Platform in a shaft.  
*PRILL*—Best ore after cobbing.  
*POLL*—Head of a hammer.  
*PENTICE*—A covering in shaft sinking.  
*SCRAM*—To mine again.  
*SHAFT*—Mine opening through which ore is hoisted.  
*SHAMMEL*—A stage for shovelling ore, "cast-after-cast".  
*SPAR*—Quartz.  
*SPILLING*—Mining through loose ground.  
*TACKLE*—An assemblage of ropes.  
*TAPER-OFF*—To rest from work.  
*TAILS*—Waste.  
*TUT*—Contract work.  
*VAN*—Testing ore on a shovel.  
*WALL-PLATES*—Of a shaft.  
*WORKING BARREL*—Of a pump.

## DETROIT CAMPAIGN OF GEN. WILLIAM HULL

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AT the outbreak of the War of 1812 the western frontier was unprepared. Michigan Territory contained but two forts of any importance: Detroit and Mackinac. Nearly opposite Detroit was Fort Malden, a British post of some importance, and there was another British fort on the Island of St. Joseph within striking distance of Mackinac. In addition the British controlled Lake Erie by means of at least two armed ships.<sup>1</sup> The population of Upper Canada was said to be about fifty thousand, and there were about four thousand other British subjects engaged in the Indian trade, by which the sympathy of a large body of savages was controlled.<sup>2</sup>

The whole military and naval situation with reference to the control of Michigan and an invasion of Upper Canada had been discussed for months before the war. William Hull, the governor of Michigan Territory, had several times urged upon the authorities at Washington the importance of naval control of the Lakes. Without such control the Indians might be able to cut the communications between Michigan and Ohio, much to the annoyance of any American force which might be located in the Territory. As long as the British controlled Lake Erie he did not regard an invasion of Canada as practicable. He thought as many armed vessels should be constructed as was necessary to command the northern waters.<sup>3</sup>

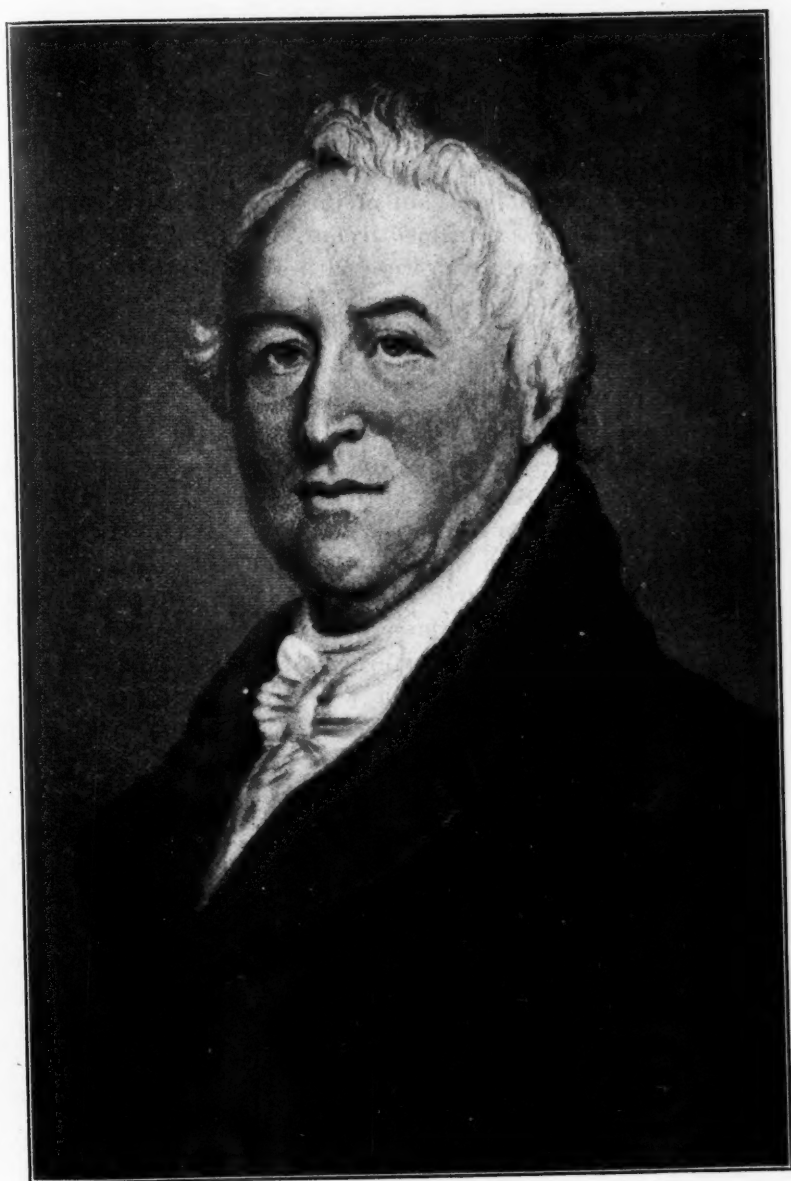
Rather against his inclination Governor Hull accepted the appointment of brigadier-general in command of operations on the western frontier.<sup>4</sup> The army which he took into Michi-

<sup>1</sup>Defense of Gen. William Hull, Forbes, *Report of the Trial*, appendix, 30; Wm. Hull, *Memoirs*, 27.

<sup>2</sup>Defense of Gen. William Hull, Forbes, 30.

<sup>3</sup>*Ibid.*, 31; Testimony of Gen. Peter B. Porter, Deposition of Capt. Charles Stewart, Forbes, 126, appendix, 36; Hull, *Memoirs*, 19-21, 24, 31-2. As Forbes, *Report of the Trial* is often quoted in this paper, it will not be quoted by title again. All testimony is taken from this volume.

<sup>4</sup>Hull, *Memoirs*, 30.



WILLIAM HULL

gan consisted of three regiments of Ohio volunteers commanded by Colonels Duncan McArthur, James Findlay, and Lewis Cass, and a regiment of United States Regulars under Lieutenant-Colonel James Miller. On paper his total force was twelve hundred men, but of these only Miller's regiment of three hundred were trained troops.<sup>5</sup> The balance were raw recruits, frontiersmen who were entirely destitute of military discipline, and believed as firmly in democracy in the army as in every day life. A portion of these mutinied at Urbana and it was with difficulty that they were persuaded to continue with the army.<sup>6</sup>

On June 26, while encamped at the site of the town of Findlay, an express arrived from Chillicothe bearing a letter to Hull from the Secretary of War. It was dated June 18, 1812 and ordered him to proceed to Detroit as quickly as possible and await further orders. Although written on the date on which war was declared it gave no notice of a declaration of hostilities.<sup>7</sup> Five days later when the army arrived at the Rapids of the Maumee no further word had come from Washington. The beasts of burden were weary with their long march, and Hull conceived the idea of making time by sending the baggage to Detroit by water.

Securing a small schooner, the *Cuyahoga*, Captain Chapin, Hull ordered his own and officers' baggage, heavy camp equipment, and hospital stores to be stowed on board. The loading of the ship was performed under the supervision of the aid-de-camp, and among the other things placed on the vessel was a chest containing all Hull's military papers including army muster rolls, official correspondence, and other important documents.<sup>8</sup> Lieutenants Aaron Forbush and George Gooding also took passage on the *Cuyahoga*, being in charge of the sick.<sup>9</sup> Hull recommended Chapin to take the American or western

<sup>5</sup>*Ibid.*, 32, 34.

<sup>6</sup>*Ibid.*, 35; Testimony of Col. Miller and Lieut. Bacon, 116, 125.

<sup>7</sup>Testimony of Gen. McArthur, 47, Defense of Gen. Hull, 21, 22, 40; Hull, *Memoirs*, 36.

<sup>8</sup>Testimony of Lieut. Forbush, 145.

<sup>9</sup>Testimony of Lieuts. Gooding and Forbush, 100, 145.

channel around Bois Blanc Island. But as this was the more difficult and Chapin felt no apprehension he took the usual course to Detroit which led him directly past the guns of Fort Malden.<sup>10</sup>

On July 2 a letter from the War Department reached Hull at Frenchtown informing him that war had been declared.<sup>11</sup> This letter, which was dated June 18, had been sent by a circuitous route by mail as far as Cleveland, traveling at the rate of thirty miles a day. From Cleveland it was carried on horseback. Thus the American general was allowed to remain in ignorance of important information for a period of two weeks, an unpardonable delay on the part of the War Department, especially as another despatch from the same source, dated at the same time, had reached Hull six days earlier.

In the meantime, Colonel St. George, commander of the British troops at Malden, had received notice from Mr. Foster, the British minister at Washington, the news arriving two days earlier; and Captain Rogers on the Island of St. Joseph had also been informed. Both of these notices were contained in envelopes sent under the frank of Albert Gallatin, and delivered with all possible speed, while notice to our own commanders was allowed to proceed in a more leisurely manner.<sup>12</sup> Under these circumstances it was not surprising that the *Cuyahoga* was boarded by troops from the British cruiser *Hunter* and taken to Malden.<sup>13</sup>

Hull arrived at Detroit on July 5. The next day Colonel Cass and Captain Hickman were sent to Malden under a flag of truce to demand the baggage and prisoners taken on the *Cuyahoga*.<sup>14</sup> Colonel St. George was not inclined to acquiesce in the demand,<sup>15</sup> but he seized the opportunity to send a spy into the American camp ostensibly to discuss matters with the

<sup>10</sup>Testimony of Lieut. Forbush, 145.

<sup>11</sup>Hull's defense, Forbes, Appendix, 36; Hull, *Memoirs*, 35; John Armstrong, *Notices of the War of 1812*, I., 47, 48.

<sup>12</sup>Utley & Cutcheon, *Michigan as a Province, Territory, and State*, v. II., 179; Headley, *Second War with England*, v. I., 72.

<sup>13</sup>Testimony of Lieut. Gooding, 100.

<sup>14</sup>Letter from Hull to Col. St. George, July 6, 1812, Forbes, appendix 18.

<sup>15</sup>Letter from St. George to Gen. Hull, July 6, 1812, *Ibid.*, appendix 19.



American general directly.<sup>16</sup> The officer selected was Captain Barwiss whom Hull unwisely neglected to blindfold and he seems to have been permitted to inspect the defenses as much as he pleased.<sup>17</sup>

When the Ohio army arrived there was already a garrison of ninety-four regulars in the fort at Detroit, and acting governor Atwater had enrolled some Michigan militia thus bringing Hull's total force to the number of about eighteen hundred men.<sup>18</sup> Testifying as to the condition of the fortress, Colonel Cass afterward stated that some of the embrasures were defective and in need of repair, and that the platforms were also in some measure defective. According to Cass none of these repairs were ever made.<sup>19</sup> We must remember that Colonel Cass never lost an opportunity to censure his commander during the campaign, and that he was a prejudiced witness against him at the court martial when Hull was on trial for his life. A part of his testimony is contradicted by that of Captain Samuel Dyson of the Artillery. Dyson said that Hull did give the orders to repair and mount the heavy artillery and made use of all the means in his power that circumstances permitted. He was not sure but thought some work might have been done toward strengthening the defenses. In the time allowed he did not think it was possible to have done more.<sup>20</sup> It may be inferred that much of the work of mounting the artillery was carried out under Dyson's supervision.

The American army was impatient to invade the enemy country. Calling a council of war to consider their situation, Hull found that his officers were as eager as the men to join in the prospective invasion. But both letters which Hull had received from the War Department had told him to hasten to Detroit "and await further orders". When his officers insisted that he ought to cross the river, even without orders, the general replied "I will not cross over until I hear from Wash-

<sup>16</sup>Testimony of Gen. Cass, 74, 75.

<sup>17</sup>Testimony of Gen. McArthur, 51.

<sup>18</sup>Hull's defense, appendix, 42.

<sup>19</sup>Testimony of Gen. Cass, 17.

<sup>20</sup>Testimony of Capt. Dyson, 132, 133.

ington".<sup>21</sup> A report of the council discussion reached the ears of the troops and created a condition in camp not far removed from mutiny. However, that very day a letter arrived from Washington authorizing Hull "to commence offensive operations" and to "take possession of Malden" if his forces should be "equal to the enterprise".<sup>22</sup> The American general prepared to execute the order as quickly as possible, although he seems to have had but little hope of capturing Malden.<sup>23</sup> Collecting some boats he made a feint at Springwells, and then under cover of the night, on July 11, crossed the river into Canada not far from the present town of Windsor.<sup>24</sup>

On the whole, Fort Malden does not seem to have been a formidable work. The pickets that ran along three sides were old and in a state of decay. General Cass, who examined it in 1813 after its capture by Harrison, gave it as his opinion that the north and west sides could never have been defended, and declared that the east and west sides had been put in a state of defense only a few months before his visit, the earth being still fresh. The western end, he declared, was not difficult of approach, and the whole work could have been commanded from ground a quarter of a mile up the river.<sup>25</sup> William James in his *Military Occurrences between Great Britain and the United States* tells us that Fort Malden "would have fallen an easy prey to so powerful a force" as that which Hull possessed,<sup>26</sup> but James insists on giving to the American general over two and a half times as many troops as Hull probably had at his disposal.

The garrison within the fort seems to have varied greatly. The smallest number of regulars mentioned by any one in a position to know is eighty;<sup>27</sup> others place the number as high

<sup>21</sup>Hull's Defense, appendix 40; Hull, *Memoirs*, 40.

<sup>22</sup>Letter of Sec. of War Eustis to Gen. Hull, June 24, 1812, Forbes, appendix, 40; Hull, *Memoirs*, 41.

<sup>23</sup>Letter of Gen. Hull to the Secretary of War, July 9, 1812, Forbes, appendix 37; Hull, *Memoirs*, 41, 44.

<sup>24</sup>Utley & Cutcheon, *op. cit.*, II., 186, 187; Headley, *op. cit.*, I., 74.

<sup>25</sup>Testimony of Gen. Cass and Capt. Dalby, 19, 83, 84.

<sup>26</sup>James, *Military Occurrences*, v. I., 59.

<sup>27</sup>About July 1. Testimony of Lieut. Forbush, 146. At this time Forbush was a military prisoner at Malden.

as two hundred and seventy.<sup>28</sup> To these we may have to add one hundred and twenty boatmen,<sup>29</sup> from sixty to seventy regulars on the two ships of war,<sup>30</sup> and three hundred additional regulars after the battle of Brownstown.<sup>31</sup> The number of militia seems to have been constantly increasing from July 2 to 15.<sup>32</sup> From July 20 to 30 there were many desertions.<sup>33</sup> At one time there may have been as many as six hundred militia in the fort;<sup>34</sup> again it may have fallen as low as three hundred.<sup>35</sup> In addition to the regular troops and Canadian militia, the British also possessed the aid of a large number of Indians. The greatest number spoken of while the Americans were in Canada is six hundred on August 15.<sup>36</sup> Adding the number of regulars, Canadians, and Indians, none of which we know accurately, we might compute the total force at Fort Malden from six hundred to fourteen hundred and fifty or perhaps higher.

The American army which crossed into Canada embraced the entire American force at Detroit except those who were ill and a body of about one hundred Ohio militia who insisted that they were not bound to serve outside their country.<sup>37</sup> Hull advanced as far as Sandwich where he issued a rather bombastic proclamation, the object of which was to detach the citizens of Upper Canada from the British cause.<sup>38</sup> A council

<sup>28</sup>Testimony of Maj. Kemble, 78. General Taylor (p. 139) gave the number as from 90 to 120; Lieut. Gooding, also a prisoner at Malden, testified that there were from 200 to 250 regulars there (p. 101). McArthur testified that information received from deserters gave the number from 200 to 220 (p. 55). Capt. Kemble heard through the same source that there were 270 (p. 78).

<sup>29</sup>Testimony of Lieut. Gooding, 101.

<sup>30</sup>Testimony of Lieut. Forbush, 146.

<sup>31</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>32</sup>Testimony of Lieut. Gooding, 101.

<sup>33</sup>Testimony of Lieut. Forbush, 146.

<sup>34</sup>Testimony of Gen. McArthur, 55.

<sup>35</sup>Testimony of Lieut. Forbush, 146. General Taylor (p. 139) estimated the militia at 500 on July 25, and Lieutenant Forbush of the British army at 550 (Hull's defense, 57, 58). Henry Adams (VI, 312-13) gives the number as 600, quoting as authorities letters from Col. Raby to Capt. Glegg, July 27, 1812, and Proctor to Brock, July 26, 1812. *Canadian Archives*.

<sup>36</sup>Testimony of Lieut. Forbush, 147. Capt. Kemble (p. 78) gives the number as 150 to 300; Lieut. Forbush from 300 to 350 on July 1 (p. 146); Gen. Taylor 500 to 600 on July 25 (p. 139), and Gen. McArthur 50 to 100 during the first fortnight of the invasion (p. 55).

<sup>37</sup>Testimony of Gen. Cass and Maj. Whistler, 17, 153; Hull's defense, appendix 41; *Memoirs*, 43, 65.

<sup>38</sup>Hull, *Memoirs*, 45; *Life and Correspondence of Sir Isaac Brock*, London, 1845, p. 186; *Richardson, War of 1812*, 14. Richardson was a Canadian in the British army on the Detroit frontier.

of war held on July 14 agreed that it was best to make no attempt against Malden until the heavy artillery should be brought from Detroit.<sup>39</sup> On the same day Captain Daliby received orders to prepare the artillery for transportation, but the gun carriages were in poor condition, and the work of rehabilitation was slow. Several times Hull crossed the river to hasten the speed, but it was not until August 7 that the field artillery was ready.<sup>40</sup>

On July 16 a scouting party under Colonel Miller discovered a body of Canadians and Indians stationed at a bridge over the Aux Canards. These were easily dislodged and the bridge passed into the hands of the Americans.<sup>41</sup> An express was sent to Hull telling him of the value of the bridge as a step toward Malden and asking for reinforcements.<sup>42</sup> But when Hull heard that his men had captured the bridge over the Aux Canards he was displeased. His artillery was not yet ready and he did not feel that he could proceed against Malden without it. He wished to avoid a general engagement until the guns could be brought to the Canadian side; yet the retention of the bridge would probably bring about such an engagement.<sup>43</sup>

He therefore sent an order to Miller to return to camp saying that it would be several days before he could move against Malden and that it would be inexpedient to divide the army by sending reinforcements.<sup>44</sup> Miller hesitated,<sup>45</sup> but at length decided to obey the order and returned to Sandwich.<sup>46</sup>

About August 1 the news of the fall of Fort Mackinac reached the American army at Sandwich. This event greatly increased Hull's danger and made him less sanguine than ever concerning the success of his invasion.<sup>47</sup> It was the signal for

<sup>39</sup>Hull's defense, 59, appendix 44; *Memoirs*, 53.

<sup>40</sup>Hull's defense, appendix, 44, 45.

<sup>41</sup>Testimony of Gen. Cass, Maj. Snelling, Col. Miller, 20, 34, 105, 106; Richardson, 21.

<sup>42</sup>Testimony of Col. Miller, 106.

<sup>43</sup>Testimony of Gen. Cass, Col. Miller, and Gen. Taylor, 20, 106, 141.

<sup>44</sup>Testimony of Gen. Cass and Col. Miller, 20, 106.

<sup>45</sup>Testimony of Gen. Cass, Maj. Snelling, and Col. Miller, 20, 34, 106.

<sup>46</sup>Testimony of Gen. Cass, Gen. McArthur, and Col. Miller, 20, 54, 106.

<sup>47</sup>Hull's defense, appendix, 39.

the defection of the surrounding nations. Chippewa, Ottawa, Potawatomi, Shawnee, Seneca, and Wyandot, who had thus far been neutral, hastened to join the British. Nor was this all. The fall of the northern fortress released four thousand northern Indians to operate against Detroit.<sup>48</sup> To meet these and the British forces at Malden the American commander had at his disposal a force of which only three hundred men were trained soldiers on whom he could rely. Even General Harrison felt that the event might prove disastrous.<sup>49</sup>

About this time Major Chambers arrived in Upper Canada and began to enroll Indians and Canadian militia to the number of six or seven hundred.<sup>50</sup> Tecumseh crossed the Detroit River and cut Hull's line of communications by intercepting a convoy of provisions under Captain Brush. On August 5 Colonel Proctor arrived at Malden and succeeded St. George as the commander of that post.<sup>51</sup>

A council of war was held on August 1. At that time Colonel Miller proposed an immediate attack on Malden without waiting for the artillery, but his plan was discarded.<sup>52</sup> On August 5 another council was held. Hull announced that the artillery would be ready in two days. He would be willing, he said, to attack Malden without the artillery if the officers would answer for the conduct of their troops. Colonel Miller said he would answer for his. Cass, McArthur, and Findlay could guarantee nothing but hoped their men would behave well.<sup>53</sup> By a majority vote the council decided it would be

<sup>48</sup>Letter of Mr. McKenzie at Ft. William to Mr. McIntosh at Sandwich, intercepted by Hull. *Memoirs*, 59.

<sup>49</sup>"I greatly fear that the capture of Mackinac will give such éclat to the British and Indians that the northern tribes will pour down in swarms upon Detroit, obliging General Hull to act on the defensive, and meet and perhaps overpower the convoys and re-enforcements which may be sent to him. It appears to me, indeed highly probable that the large detachment which is now destined for his relief . . . will have to fight its way. I greatly rely on the valor of those troops, but it is possible that the event may be adverse to us, and if it is, Detroit must fall, and with it every hope of re-establishing our affairs in that quarter until next year". Harrison to the Secretary of War, Aug. 10, 1812, quoted in Lossing, *Hull's Surrender of Detroit*, 15.

<sup>50</sup>Hull's defense, appendix, 47; *Memoirs*, 58.

<sup>51</sup>Testimony of Lieut. Gooding, 101.

<sup>52</sup>Testimony of Col. Miller, 111.

<sup>53</sup>Hull, *Memoirs*, 54.

best to wait for the artillery.<sup>54</sup> On August 7 the artillery was not yet on the Canadian side, and it was decided to attack Malden at once.<sup>55</sup> That afternoon Hull received letters from General Hall at Niagara and General Porter at Black Rock informing him that a large number of boats filled with British troops were passing over Lake Ontario toward Malden, and that nothing was to be done on the Niagara frontier to check these movements.<sup>56</sup>

On the evening of the seventh all was anticipation in the American camp for it was rumored that the army was to march toward Malden that night or the next morning. At eleven o'clock the tents were struck and loaded and the wagon train moved—but it moved toward Detroit! Hull is reported to have told his officers that, notwithstanding his respect for their opinions, he considered himself responsible for the ultimate fate of the army and would therefore retreat to American soil.<sup>57</sup>

As neither Michigan Territory nor Upper Canada produced a sufficient quantity of food a steady stream of provisions from Ohio was essential to the existence of the American forces. On July 21 Captain Brush with ninety-five volunteers started from Urbana for Detroit escorting a provision train.<sup>58</sup> At the Maumee River they were joined by a volunteer company from Sandusky.<sup>59</sup> The British at Malden had a knowledge of the advance of these reenforcements, and a strong force of British and Indians was posted at Brownstown on the only road from Ohio to Detroit.<sup>60</sup>

Early in August when he was in Upper Canada Hull received an express from Captain Brush on the Raisin River requesting an escort.<sup>61</sup> Hull ordered Major Van Horn with two

<sup>54</sup>Testimony of Gen. Cass, Col. Van Horn, and Maj. Kemble, 31, 66, 67, 78; Hull's defense, appendix, 45; *Memoirs*, 54.

<sup>55</sup>*Memoirs*, 60, 61.

<sup>56</sup>*Ibid.*, 61.

<sup>57</sup>Testimony of Gen. McArthur, 58; Hull's defense, appendix, 50.

<sup>58</sup>*Ohio Valley Historical Series*, No. 2, p. 14. The author of this paper is a Samuel Williams who was a member of Brush's company.

<sup>59</sup>*Ibid.*, 23, 24.

<sup>60</sup>*Ibid.*, 25, 26.

<sup>61</sup>McAfee, *History of the Late War*, 73.



hundred Ohio militiamen to cross the river, form a junction with Brush, and escort him to Detroit.<sup>62</sup> Many of Hull's officers agreed that the force was too small and must be defeated.<sup>63</sup> Van Horn proceeded carelessly and was ambushed near Brownstown. His men retreated in disorder and he incurred somewhat heavy losses. The mail, which was captured, was taken to Malden.<sup>64</sup>

Upon his return from Canada General Hull ordered Colonel Miller to reopen communications with Ohio. Miller probably had about six hundred men, of whom two hundred and eighty were regulars and the rest Michigan and Ohio volunteers.<sup>65</sup> This force engaged a party of Indians at Maguaga and defeated them although the American losses were heavy.<sup>66</sup> Early in the action the men had thrown off their knapsacks which contained all their provisions in order to lighten themselves; and they were now without food. To move forward without rations was dangerous and Miller did not wish to retreat to the place at which the battle had started in order to recover the provisions.<sup>67</sup> Accordingly he sent a messenger to Detroit asking for provisions and reinforcements to take the place of those who had fallen.<sup>68</sup>

On receiving this word General Hull ordered Colonel McArthur to take one hundred men, deliver the necessary provisions, and bring back the wounded.<sup>69</sup> McArthur found Miller about half way between Detroit and the River Raisin.<sup>70</sup> He placed the wounded in boats, left the greater portion of his men as reinforcements, and set out on the return journey to Detroit.<sup>71</sup> The provisions which he brought proved to be only enough for breakfast and left Miller in as uncomfortable

<sup>62</sup>Hull, *Memoirs*, 72; Testimony of Gen. Cass, Gen. McArthur, Col. Van Horn, 20, 56, 72.

<sup>63</sup>Testimony of Gen. Cass, Gen. McArthur, Col. Van Horn, 56, 57, 72, 20.

<sup>64</sup>Testimony of Col. Van Horn, 68, 69, 70; *Memoirs*, 72.

<sup>65</sup>Testimony of Col. Miller, 106, 108; Hull's defense, appendix, 53; *Memoirs*, 72, 164.

<sup>66</sup>Testimony of Col. Miller, 107, 108; *Memoirs*, 72, 73; Richardson, 42.

<sup>67</sup>Testimony of Col. Miller, 107.

<sup>68</sup>*Ibid.*, 114.

<sup>69</sup>Testimony of Gen. McArthur, 58; Hull's defense, 144; *Memoirs*, 73.

<sup>70</sup>Testimony of Col. Miller, 108.

<sup>71</sup>*Ibid.*, 117.

a position as before.<sup>72</sup> To add to his miseries there was a heavy rainstorm during which the troops were exposed without covering. Miller was taken ill, and Hull sent an order for him to return to Detroit.<sup>73</sup>

On August 14 Hull received a note from Captain Brush advising him that he would leave the River Raisin by a path which would double the distance to Detroit, but would probably be safer, and requesting a detachment to meet him. Hull immediately ordered Colonels McArthur and Cass to take what men they deemed necessary, proceed by a back road, and effect a junction with Brush.<sup>74</sup> This detachment failed to discover any sign of Brush although they were gone for over two days.<sup>75</sup> On their way back to Detroit they received a message from General Hull ordering them to return at once as Brock had summoned Detroit to surrender.<sup>76</sup>

Hull had retreated from Canadian soil on August 7. Two days later he astounded Colonel Cass by a proposal to continue the retreat to the Maumee where he would have no hostile forces in his rear and could wait for reenforcements. Cass replied with some impatience that if this were done, in his opinion, the Ohio volunteers would desert to a man.<sup>77</sup>

A mutinous spirit was growing in camp, and this spirit was actually fostered by the colonels and other officers.<sup>78</sup> On August 12 there was a plot to displace Hull if Colonel Miller would assume the command. Miller refused, but said that he would unite with the others in deposing Hull and giving the command to McArthur.<sup>79</sup> At the same time a round robin was circulating among the troops requesting the deposition of Hull in favor of McArthur.<sup>80</sup> At length it was decided to

<sup>72</sup>*Ibid.*, 107; Hull's defense, appendix, 81.

<sup>73</sup>Testimony of Col. Miller, 108; *Memoirs*, 73.

<sup>74</sup>Testimony of Gen. Cass, 24; *Memoirs*, 73; W. S. Hatch, *A Chapter of the War of 1812 in the Northwest*, 47, 48. Hatch was present at Detroit during the campaign.

<sup>75</sup>Testimony of Gen. Cass, and Gen. McArthur, 24, 60; Hatch, 50.

<sup>76</sup>Testimony of Gen. Cass and Gen. McArthur, 24, 60.

<sup>77</sup>Testimony of Gen. Cass, 25; *Memoirs*, 64, 65, 164.

<sup>78</sup>Testimony of Gen. Cass, 25; *Memoirs*, 65; Hatch, 40.

<sup>79</sup>*Niles Register*, II, 357; III, 37, 53.

<sup>80</sup>Hatch, 40.

appeal to Governor Meigs of Ohio. A letter was sent urging the necessity of at least two thousand reenforcements, and expressing the wish that the Governor accompany them. The intention probably was, when Meigs should arrive, to depose Hull and invest Meigs with the command of Detroit and its army. Hull says that he had knowledge of the conspiracy but feared to arrest the mutineers.<sup>81</sup> He solved the difficulty by sending McArthur and Cass to effect a junction with Brush on the River Raisin, the issue of which we have just considered.

While these dissensions were going on in the American camp the British were preparing to carry the war into American territory. General Brock had arrived at Malden at midnight of August 13<sup>82</sup>. He brought with him ninety regulars, three hundred militia, and a small number of Indians from a Mohawk settlement on Grand River.<sup>83</sup> The mail captured from Van Horn's ill-fated expedition was set before him and read. He saw the weakness of Hull's position and formed his plans.<sup>84</sup> Several batteries were erected.<sup>85</sup> Cass contended that they were within easy range of Detroit, but the British were allowed to finish their work without opposition.<sup>86</sup>

At ten o'clock (August 15) a white flag crossed from the Canadian to the American shore. Captains Snelling and Fuller received the flag which was borne by Lieutenant McDonald and Captain Glegg. The British officers were the bearers of a demand for the surrender of the fort of Detroit.<sup>87</sup> In his letter Brock stated that he wished to prevent the useless effusion of blood, but that his savage allies would not be under control after the beginning of the action.<sup>88</sup> Hull refused the demand. At this time he seems to have fully determined to fight. "The British have demanded the place", he said to one

<sup>81</sup>*Memoirs*, 65.

<sup>82</sup>Armstrong, I, 31; Utley & Cutcheon, II, 201, 202; Coffin, *Chronicles of the War of 1812*, 47.

<sup>83</sup>Utley & Cutcheon, II, 201, 202.

<sup>84</sup>Brock's letter to Liverpool, Sept. 3, 1812. Brock's *Civil and Military Life*, 267.

<sup>85</sup>Testimony of Maj. Snelling, 35; Richardson, 49, 50, 64.

<sup>86</sup>Testimony of Gen. Cass, 23; Testimony of Capt. Dyson, 134.

<sup>87</sup>Testimony of Maj. Snelling and Col. Miller, 35, 108.

<sup>88</sup>*Memoirs*, 95, 96; Hatch, 73, 74.

of his officers. "If they want it they must fight for it".<sup>89</sup> But he now hoped for the assistance of McArthur and Cass whom he summoned to return.<sup>90</sup>

About three or four o'clock Dixon's battery opened fire on the American positions. The principal fire was directed toward the American battery commanded by Lieutenant Daliby which was upwards of two hundred yards of the fort.<sup>91</sup> Daliby replied with seven twenty-four pounders.<sup>92</sup> There was little damage on either side. One of the British guns was silenced, but otherwise the American fire was not effective, and about ten o'clock both sides ceased firing.<sup>93</sup> About daylight of the sixteenth a second cannonade was begun. As before the American guns replied. Some of the shots from the British side struck inside the fort inflicting considerable damage. The American fire had little effect and ceased about ten o'clock. Soon afterward the British fire was also discontinued.<sup>94</sup>

Under cover of this fire the British were preparing to cross the river. There was no resistance, and they landed at Springwells.<sup>95</sup> They advanced along the margin of the river in close column formation until they were within a mile of the fort where they halted for breakfast.<sup>96</sup> In the meantime Hull sent a flag of truce across the river.<sup>97</sup> Seeing the flag cross Brock sent one of his officers to inquire whether Hull wished any communication with him.<sup>98</sup> Hull replied by sending a sealed message for Snelling to carry to Brock.<sup>99</sup> Captain Eastman testified at the trial that when Snelling saw the message he

<sup>89</sup>Testimony of Maj. Snelling and Col. Watson, 35, 150.

<sup>90</sup>*Memoirs*, 110, 165.

<sup>91</sup>Testimony of Capt. Daliby, Lieut. Bacon and Maj. Snelling, 83, 125, 36; Richardson, 57, 63.

<sup>92</sup>Testimony of Capt. Daliby, Lieut. Bacon and Capt. Dyson, 83, 125, 133; Hatch, 72.

<sup>93</sup>Testimony of Capt. Daliby and Lieut. Bacon, 83, 125.

<sup>94</sup>Testimony of Maj. Snelling, Capt. Daliby, Col. Van Horn, and Col. Miller, 43, 83, 71, 118; Hatch, 74.

<sup>95</sup>Testimony of Maj. Snelling, 37; Defense of Hull, appendix, 60; *Memoirs*, 166.

<sup>96</sup>Hatch, 74.

<sup>97</sup>Testimony of Maj. Snelling, 37; Hull's defense, appendix, 87; Richardson, 54.

<sup>98</sup>Testimony of Maj. Snelling, 37, 38; Hull's defense, appendix, 87.

<sup>99</sup>Testimony of Maj. Snelling and Capt. Eastman, 38, 99; Hull's defense, appendix, 87.

said he would be "damned if he would disgrace himself" by taking the flag from the fort.<sup>100</sup> However, it appears that he did take the flag for when asked at the trial what the note contained Snelling testified that as he remembered it the note read: "Sir, I agree to surrender the fort and town of Detroit, William Hull".<sup>101</sup>

The capitulation was unpopular among officers and men. Lieutenant Anderson is credited with breaking his sword over a gun rather than surrender it.<sup>102</sup> It is said that many of the privates shed tears,<sup>103</sup> and the common expression was "damn such a general".<sup>104</sup> McArthur's detachment was included in the surrender as were also the reenforcements of Brush on the Raisin. But the latter disregarded the capitulation and made their way back to Ohio.<sup>105</sup>

General Hull felt the surrender very deeply. To Captain Munson he said, "I almost dread seeing the Colonel (Cass) as I expect he will censure me very much. My country will also censure me, but under existing circumstances, I have done what my conscience directed—I have saved Detroit and the territory from the horrors of an Indian massacre."<sup>106</sup> To one of his aids he remarked: "You return to your family without a stain; as for myself, I have sacrificed a reputation dearer to me than life, but I have saved the inhabitants of Detroit, and my heart approves the act".<sup>107</sup>

Hull generously shielded his officers and assumed the sole responsibility for the surrender.<sup>108</sup> After he had succeeded in having them paroled, asking for no such stipulation for himself, McArthur, Findlay, Cass, Miller, Taylor, and Jessup all ranged themselves against him and showed the most extraordinary zeal in the attempt to secure his conviction. It was Cass who was the first to condemn his fallen chief. As soon

<sup>100</sup>Testimony of Capt. Eastman, 99.

<sup>101</sup>Testimony of Maj. Snelling, 39.

<sup>102</sup>Headley, *Second War with England*, I, 85.

<sup>103</sup>Testimony of Capt. McCormick, 46.

<sup>104</sup>McAfee, 89.

<sup>105</sup>*Ohio Valley Historical Series*, No. 2, p. 33.

<sup>106</sup>Testimony of Capt. Munson, 102, 103.

<sup>107</sup>Lossing, *Hull's Surrender of Detroit*, 20.

<sup>108</sup>His letter to the Secretary of War is given by Richardson, 85, 86.

as possible he hastened to Washington and, under the date of September 10, published a letter dealing with the campaign.<sup>109</sup> This letter was full of gross exaggeration and contained many unkind references to Hull's conduct. Seconding his conduct, other officers flocked to Washington to lay their complaints before the Secretary of War and show how the result would have been quite different if they instead of Hull had been in command. Many were the rewards by way of military promotion for this sort of condemnation; and the greater the rewards, the greater were the number who flocked to receive them by denouncing the erstwhile general. Jefferson called him a coward and an imbecile, and compared him to Benedict Arnold.<sup>110</sup> Popular sentiment grew stronger as military reverses continued. There was a popular demand that some one be punished. The government decided to effect an exchange of Hull and bring him before a court martial. This paper proposes next to deal with the trial before that tribunal.

<sup>109</sup>*Ibid.*, 77-82.

<sup>110</sup>Jefferson's *Works* (Federal Edition), XI, 268.

(In the Fall number of the Magazine, Mr. Van Deusen will discuss "The Court Martial of Gen. William Hull.")



## CALENDAR OF MICHIGAN COPYRIGHTS

(For samples of full text see previous issues of the Magazine.)

371. July 25, 1864. James S. Drake. Musical Composition. "Patriotic Hymn, words by Mrs. M. A. Green—Music by James S. Drake."
372. July 27, 1864. Bronson C. Howard. Book. "Fantine, a Mother's love, a Drama in five Acts, adapted from Victor Hugo. By Bronson C. Howard."
373. Aug. 2, 1864. J. H. Mulford. Book. "The Seraglio or Incidents of the French Campaign in Africa, by J. H. Mulford."
374. Aug. 1, 1864. Peter L. Miles. Work of Arts. "Magic Splice."
375. Aug. 8, 1864. Edwin A. Lodge, M. D. Book. "New Remedies. Their Pathogenetic Effects, and Therapeutical application in Homeopathic Practice, by Edwin M. Hale, M. D. late lecturer on Materia Medica and Therapeutics in Hannemann's Medical College, author of Monograph on Gelsemium, Abortion and its Homeopathic Treatment. Corresponding Secretary of the Western Institute of Homeopathy, etc."
376. Sept. 7, 1864. G. R. Lillibridge. Song. "A New National Song, Under an Old Title."
377. Sept. 12, 1864. Caroline Clark. Book. "The Past, Present and Future."
378. Sept. 12, 1864. Caroline Clark. Engraving. "Herod Destroying the First-Born of Judah."
379. Sept. 28, 1864. Silas H. Douglass. Book. "Guide to a Systematic Course of Qualitative Chemical analysis Prepared for the Chemical Laboratory of the University of Michigan. By Silas H. Douglass, M. A., M. D., Professor of Chemistry and Mineralogy in the University of Michigan."
384. Nov. 7, 1864. K. S. Rothschild. Engraving. "Inspector's Favorite. Manufactured by K. S. Rothschild, Detroit, Mich."
385. Nov. 7, 1864. Edwin A. Lodge. Book. "An Epitome of the Homeopathic Healing Art, containing the new Discoveries and Improvements to the Present time. Designed for the use of Families, and Travellers on their Journey. And as a Pocket Companion for the Physician. By B. L. Hill, M. D., Professor of General, Special and Surgical Anatomy. Late Professor of Surgery, Obstetrics and Diseases of Females and Children in the W. H. College, Author of the Homoeopathic Practice of Surgery, etc., etc. Revised Edition."

386. Nov. 15, 1864. Silas Farmer. Book. "The Sunday School Ritual. Compiled and published by Silas Farmer, Detroit."

387. Nov. 28, 1864. C. L. Bateman. Book. "The Creation and other Poems. By C. L. Bateman."

388. Dec. 8, 1864. Henry E. Downer. Book. "The Oil Region of Michigan. Description of the Baker Tract Situated in the Heart of the Oil Region of Michigan. The Property of L. Baker, Toledo, Ohio."

389. Dec. 16, 1864. T. R. Spence. Engraved Label. "Spence's Pectoral Mucilage for the Cure of Colds, Coughs, and all the Diseases of the Throat, Chest & Lungs. Prepared only by T. R. Spence. Pharmaceutist, Detroit, Mich."

394. Dec. 26, 1864. J. Henry Whittemore. Musical Composition. "Michigan, my Michigan. Song and chorus as sung by J. P. Mansfield, Esq. with great applause, at the grand entertainment for the benefit of the Orphan Asylum and Home of the Friendless, City of Detroit. Arranged and adapted to a favorite melody, by J. Henry Whittemore."

395. Dec. 1, 1864. Edwin J. Hulbert. Map. "Second Edition Geological and Topographical Map of the Mineral District of Lake Superior Michigan. Compiled and Drawn by John C. Booth and E. J. Hulbert, 1864.—Showing accurately the relative position of the Copper and Iron Mines, the Selections made by the Sault Ste. Marie Canal Co., the Swamp or State lands, and Individual possessions. Topographically reduced from the plans of the U. S. Surveys. Geological notes from observations of Foster and Whitney, S. W. Hill, W. H. Stevens, N. d'Aligny, Ed. J. Hulbert. Published by E. J. Hulbert, Mining Engineer."

406. Jan. 3, 1865. Simon Glover. Poem. "Seth Bacon, a Poem by Simon Glover."

407. Jan. 12, 1865. Charles A. Bogert. Book. "Ledger, Diary and Time Book, combined."

408. Feb. 1, 1865. Wm. W. Montgomery. Musical Composition. "They Sleep in the South. Song and Chorus. Words by W. W. Montgomery, U. S. A. Music by Chas. H. Levering."

409. Feb. 17, 1865. Silas Farmer & Co. Map. "Map of Elmwood Cemetery, City of Detroit. Drawn by Eugene Robinson, City Surveyor. Published by Silas Farmer & Co., Detroit, 1865."

410. Feb. 22, 1865. James H. Brown. Book. "The Board O' Trade Ball. A Humorous Poem—by one who was there."

411. Feb. 25, 1865. C. L. Bateman. Book. "Noah and other poems, by C. L. Bateman."

412. March 20, 1865. William H. Baxter. Book. "The Life, History, and Tragic Death of Simeon B. Smith and The life and history of Lydia B. Hall."

413. Apr. 5, 1865. Frederick Stearns. Engraved Label. "Stearns Amber Oil. For Rendering Dressing and Beautifying the Hair."

422. May 10, 1865. Silas Farmer & Co. Map. "Farmers New Sectional Map of Wisconsin, embracing part of Illinois, Michigan and Minnesota, exhibiting the cities, towns, villages, swamps, prairies, rivers, lakes, mines, roads, rail-roads, geological formations, and general topography, together with the courses, distances and soundings of the U. S. Lake Survey, compiled from State and County records, from the U. S. Topographical Departments, and from various other official and reliable sources. Projected and Engraved by John Farmer, C. E. Published by S. Farmer & Co., Detroit and Milwaukee, 1865."

423. May 15, 1865. Dr. Isidor Kalisch. Book. "Sounds of the Orient. A collection of Poems, by Rev. Dr. Isidor Kalisch."

424. May 22, 1865. John M. Stanley. Work of Art on Photographic Engraving. "The Trial of Red Jacket, and Historical Painting by John M. Stanley."

425. May 22, 1865. Gilbert E. Corbin. Book. "Masonic Key, Affording the Initiated, a Clue to Ancient Free-Masonry. Collected, Compiled, Corrected and Arranged By Dr. G. E. Corbin, Past Master, St. Johns, Mich. 1865."

426. May 24, 1865. Thomas S. Thompson. Book. "Thompson's Coast Plat for the upper Lakes on both shores from Chicago to Buffalo, Green Bay, Georgian Bay and Lake Superior, including the Rivers Detroit, St. Clair and St. Mary's, with the courses and distances on Lake Ontario, and other information relative thereto. Also a description of all the Lights and Light Houses on both shores from Ogdensburg to Superior City including correct charts of the South Shore of Lake Superior, with Fon Du Lac Harbor or Superior City, The Apostle Islands, Ontonagon Harbor, Eagle River, Eagle Harbor, Copper Harbor, Point Keweenaw and Manitou Island, Portage City and Harbor, Marquette Bay and Grand Island Harbor. Fourth Edition."

427. July 1, 1865. Seth A. Mattison. Book. "Systematized Registration of Applications for Insurance, Policies, Renewals, Reports, and Accounts with Sub-Agents, Embracing a series of Four distinct books and return Sheets, by Seth A. Mattison, Gen'l Agent of the New York Life Insurance Co., Detroit."

428. July 3, 1865. The Advertiser and Tribune Company. Book. "Detroit Advertiser and Tribune Series of Prize Tales consisting of The Carolinian Brothers, Tempted of Evil, Mrs. Hunter's Troubles, Lucy Harding, Through the Shadows, The Old Haunted Well, The Black House, True, A Woman's Story, Jessie C's Diary, The Judge's Daughter, Janet and I, Our John."

429. July 3, 1865. Daniel Buel Chamberlin. Lithographic Impression. "Key to the Natural System of Analysis, for the Introduction to the Nat. Sys. of Eng. Grammar, also a Companion to any Grammar. Analogy,—Subjectum and Verbum: Ground and Tree. Examples. 1. The robin sings his sweetest song early in the morning. 2. Soldiers'. Attend! 3. I will try. 4. I, John. 5. I am John. 6. We obeyed Richard, our leader. 7. We made Richard our leader. 8. I speak of Milton, the poet. 9. Snow is white. 10. We paint houses white. 11. John, Francis and Mary hunt, catch, and tame rabbits, squirrels and weasels. Note in 5, 7, & 10, the two-fold relation is shown. Note.—The Conjunction is not represented, the connection being always shown by diagram. 12. She sings as she flies. 13. Whatever is, is right.—Pope. \*This sign always representing the Prep. & Object."

430. Aug. 9, 1865. Andrew J. Utley. Book. "The Master Mason's Guide. Containing all the monitorial instruction in Blue Lodge Masonry. Also the Funeral and Dedication Services, and the Order of Public Processions Compiled and Arranged from Webb, and other standard authors. By A. J. Utley, L. L. B. Past-master of O'Brien Lodge No. 142."

431. Aug. 18, 1865. James Fenton. Book. "Webb's Free Mason's Monitor, including the first three Degrees with the funeral service, and the other public ceremonies, together with many useful forms. The whole squaring with the National work of the Baltimore convention, as taught by the late Bro. John Barney, Grand Lecturer. Compiled by James Fenton, P. M. and Grand Secretary of the Grand Lodge of Michigan."

432. Aug. 23, 1865. R. Curtis. Book. "The Sabbaths. A concise Bible History of the Israelitish or Jewish Sabbaths, embracing the seventh day sabbath, and the seven years Sabbaths . . . their original use and end. Also, the original use, and perpetuity of the Christian Sabbath. By R. Curtis, Esq."

433. Aug. 23, 1865. Seymour Brownell. Engraved Label. [Illegible].

442. Sept. 6, 1865. J. Henry Whittemore. Musical Composition. "When the Stars are brightly shining. Song and chorus. Words by S. A. L. Music by W. J. Robjohn."

443. Sept. 9, 1865. Gabriel Campbell. Poem. "War Pictures, a Poem by Gabriel Campbell. A. B. Captain Seventeenth Michigan Volunteer Infantry."

448. Oct. 26, 1865. Thomas A. M. Ward. Book. "The Curious Book, containing many remarkable events of the Adamic race, extracts translated from the long lost book of Enoch and Noah: from the Ancient Sanscrit Language, embracing many heretofore unpublished particulars of the creation with much valuable information on the correct name of the Deity and some translations of the Bible from the original Hebrew, never before rendered into English. With numerous notes on the origin of the Egyptians and Jews, and the discovery of the Initial letters on King Solomon's Seal: including the Egyptian, Ellusian, Dyonisian and Pythagorean Mysteries."

449. Oct. 26, 1865. J. Henry Whittemore. Musical Composition. "Mother is the Battle Over? Can I come home from Canada? or the B. J's Lament. Words and Music by J. W. Turner."

452. Nov. 1, 1865. George A. Southworth and George De Baptiste. Lithographic Engraving. "The Original Ordinance of Secession of the State of South Carolina, taken from the house of Dr. Lamb, Secretary of State, by a Party of the 102nd Regm't. U. S. C. T. March 3d, 1865."

453. Nov. 3, 1865. William A. Throop. Book or Print. "Warranty Deed C."

490. Nov. 17, 1865. C. O. Thomas & Co. Engraved Label. "Manufactured from Select Tobacco by C. O. Thomas & Co., Detroit, Mich. Detroit Favorite."

491. Nov. 17, 1865. C. L. Ford. Book. "Questions on Anatomy. For the use of Students."

492. Dec. 5, 1865. Dr. E. A. Lodge. Book or Print. "Medical Pomposity, or the Doctor's Dream. A satire. By Wm. Tod Hel-muth, M. D."

493. Dec. 8, 1865. Edwin A. Lodge. Book or Print. "American Homeopathic Observer, A Monthly Journal Devoted to the interests of Homeopathic Physicians."

494. Dec. 16, 1865. William Branigan. Book. "The Key of Book-keeping, prepared for the Accountant, Teacher and Student."

495. Dec. 16, 1865. Charles H. Pease. Musical Composition. "Tell My Mother Not to Weep. Ballad with Chorus Alibitum. Words from the Nurse and Spy. Music composed and arranged by Charles H. Pease."

502. Dec. 27, 1865. William A. Throop. Book or Print. "Order Allowing Claims, etc."

503. Jan. 6, 1866. Dr. R. Stoddard Gee. Book. "Gee's Synopsis of Homeopathic Practice and Domestic Physician. By Dr. R. Stoddard Gee, Coldwater, Michigan. Containing Treatment for More than Eight Hundred Diseases, and Also A Materia Medica, showing the Provings of Fifty Remedies."

504. Jan. 15, 1866. Geo. W. Brown. Book. "The Ladies' Friend. Containing all of the Lectures and Eseteric Ceremonials made use of in conferring the adoptive Degrees of Masonry. Consisting of the Eastern Star Mason's Daughter, Kindred Degree, Good Samaritan, and Heroines of Jericho. By G. W. Brown, M. A."

505. Jan. 19, 1866. Charles H. Pease. Musical Composition. "Who will Write a Song for Me? Ballad (Chorus Adlibitum). Composed and arranged by Charles H. Pease."

506. Jan. 20, 1866. Dr. R. Stoddard Gee. Book. "Gee's Medical Text Book and Domestic Physician. By Dr. R. Stoddard Gee, Coldwater, Michigan. Containing Treatment for More than Eight Hundred Diseases, and also a Materia Medica, showing the provings of Thirty Remedies."

507. Feb. 5, 1866. Nathan Eisenlord. Melo-Drama. "The Fenian's Bride, or Ireland shall be free. A Melo-Drama in Two Acts. By Nathan Eisenlord."

522. March 15, 1866. Charles H. Pease. Musical Composition. "The Highlands. Ballad (or part Song & Chorus) Poetry from Gems of the Season. Music composed and arranged by Charles H. Pease."

523. March 21, 1866. Erastus S. Cone. Book. "An explanation of the Mystical words used by John in his book of Revelation and dedicated to every live soul—by Erastus S. Cone of Milan, Monroe County, Michigan."



## HISTORICAL NOTES

*admitted for  
R K*  
**T**OURISTS in the Upper Peninsula may have noted the names of the two villages, Rudyard (in Chippewa County), and Kipling (in Delta County) and wondered whether they have any connection. The secret is divulged in a unique poem which Rudyard Kipling wrote some years ago to Mr. F. D. Underwood, the president of the Erie Railroad. When Mr. Underwood was general manager of the Soo Line, he named two stations Rudyard and Kipling, after the poet, whose works he greatly admired. Then he wrote the author about his Michigan namesakes. Kipling replied by sending him a cabinet photograph with these lines inscribed upon the back, relative to "Kipling's Michigan Twins":

"Wise is the child who knows his sire"  
The ancient proverb ran  
But wiser far the man who knows  
How, where and when his offspring grows  
For who the mischief would suppose  
I've sons in Michigan?

Yet am I saved from midnight ills  
That warp the soul of man  
They do not make me walk the floor  
Nor hammer on the doctor's door  
They deal in wheat and iron-ore  
My sons in Michigan.

Oh! Tourist in the Pullman car  
(By Cook's or Raymond's plan)  
Forgive a parent's partial view  
But may be you have children, too  
So let me introduce to you  
My sons in Michigan.

—Michigan Library Bulletin.

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**L**AURENCE H. CONRAD, of the University of Michigan, is known for his novels, short stories, and text-books, but as a creative thinker he ranges afield, and he has hit upon a geographical idea that seems worthy. We should like to know

what our readers think about it. Write and tell us and we will make up a little symposium on the subject.

At our request Mr. Conrad has put this idea into the following form for the Magazine. He writes:

Geographically, the state of Michigan is one of the most easily distinguishable spots on the globe. It is to geography what c-a-t is to spelling: it is the first lesson a child learns. Any child in America over three years of age can put his finger on it on any map of the world. The familiar "mitten" surrounded by its great stretches of sea-blue water is the most distinguished landmark in America. You would suppose, if you did not live here, that Michigan would be regarded as a fixed point for the orientation of the rest of the states in the Union: you would suppose that all other points would be located with reference to this one point, so clearly marked out by Nature. But this has never been the case. In newspapers and periodicals throughout the nation, Michigan is always referred to as being in "the Middle West".

"Middle West", indeed! Iowa is in the Middle West, and North Dakota and Missouri. Minnesota and Ohio are in the Middle West. What a great region the Middle West is! No one, as a matter of fact, knows the boundaries of the Middle West. Pennsylvania is very often spoken of as being in the Middle West. And from Pennsylvania to Iowa is quite a range. In this vast territory there has been dropped, and lost, the most easily distinguishable scrap of geography on the face of the earth. This is certainly a tribute to the power of a popular phrase.

Michigan is lost, lost among the corn states. Sad fate! But surely it does not need to remain so. If a popular phrase has the power to lose a great state, perhaps an awakened consciousness within that state can bring it back to the distinguished position Nature designed for it. Michigan is not one of the corn states. Michigan does not share dreary interests with a whole region. Michigan is different. When you arrive in Michigan, you know you are not in Kansas, you know you are

not in South Dakota. Michigan stands out; it stands out so clearly that it is really a region in itself, just as Nature provided it should be. That region is deserving of a name in itself, so that there may be broken up and more clearly discriminated the vast range of interests that have always come under the phrase "the Middle West".

How to get Michigan out of the Middle West; that is the problem. About a year ago, the writer of this "geographical note" coined the phrase "the Middle North" as a means of distinguishing the Great Lakes region, and particularly Michigan. He used this phrase in a public address. When later the address was published, a few editors in the state wrote editorials commending the idea. The writer urged them, and urges now, that residents of Michigan, by using such a term as this instead of the term "Middle West", can bring their state into a more clearly defined position among the states of the Union.

If you will stand before a map of the United States and ask yourself the location of Michigan, you will see that the "middle north" region is not hard to locate. If you should ask someone beside you to put his finger on the middle north, you would see him locate your own state for you without hesitation. In short, the term "Middle North" is a definite location—a circle of inland seas with a pleasant peninsula in their midst.

Everything in Michigan is distinctive and is becoming more so. Michigan is a leading state in a great many ways. It stands head and shoulders out of the middle west region. If the Middle West is divided, as it must ultimately be, in the popular mind, Michigan deserves to be the key state in the new orientation. This new phrase, popularized at this time, will become rooted firmly enough to secure for this state its proper dominance of its own region.

LAWRENCE H. CONRAD,  
Ann Arbor.

JOHN A. DOELLE, executive secretary of the Michigan Real Estate Association inquires: "I am wondering if you can send me a short account as to why Michigan is called the Wolverine state and your viewpoint as to why the animal is extinct in the state, so we can present this information to the people. This bears on the pair of Wolverines recently presented by the Lansing Chapter of the Isaak Walton League to the Lansing Zoo. I was out yesterday to see them. There has been a lot of publicity concerning these animals."

Not being able to send Mr. Doelle either a short or a long account of why Michigan was originally called the Wolverine State, the editor referred the matter to about a score of friends. Some of the replies received are specially interesting. Here is one from Dr. Milo M. Quaife, editor of the *Burton Historical Collection*:

"I do not know how the name Wolverine came to be applied to the people of Michigan, nor have I been able to find anything in print on the subject which seems worth calling to your attention. There are one or two explanations offered which are obviously fictitious and made up by some one after the fact in the effort to explain it. It seems apparent from the autobiography of Miss Emily Mason as published in Volume 35 of the *Michigan Pioneer Collections* that the term had come into use at the time of the Toledo War of 1835. She recites a paragraph from a ballad of that time, two lines of which are as follows:

He [Governor Mason] called upon the  
Wolverines and asked them for to go  
To meet the rebel Lucas, his court to overthrow.

"There are various natural history treatises dealing with the habits and characteristics of the Wolverine which seems to be regarded as a more than ordinarily interesting animal. One of the best of these is to be found in Volume 28 of the *American Forestry*, page 108 and following. In Bela Hubbard's *Memorials of a Half Century*, page 325, there is a comparatively short account of the Wolverine which I cite for the

statement by Hubbard that the animal was extremely rare in Michigan. He spoke of a stuffed skin being exhibited in Detroit and says that some of the oldest inhabitants, including even the fur trader James Abbot, had never seen one.

"All of this sheds no particular light upon your question why the people of Michigan are called Wolverines. As noted at the beginning, I have found no information on this point."

Dr. W. B. Hinsdale, of the University of Michigan Museums writes:

"So far as cold facts are concerned, all I know is practically nothing about it.

"None of the professional zoologists admit that there is positively convincing evidence that the wolverine was ever taken in Michigan. I have talked with several of them at different times. The strong presumption is that the wolverine was native here but the exact locations, times of taking and the actual names of persons who saw it being in question, it is not put down in their lists as among the natural wild animals of the state.

"There are, of course, references to it in the accounts of trappers, hunters and travellers, but science can not accept vague statements. Those people did not carry field books and put down, at the time of making the observations, the exact verifiable data. My impression is that the name of the animal became attached in a general way to the country where comparatively large numbers of its skins were bought by the fur traders. That would be this great lakes district of which Michigan is now a part. But the fur might have come from Wisconsin or Canada instead of from the parts of our peninsulas included first in Michigan territory and then in the state as political divisions.

"So you see, as I stated in the beginning, I have no convincing evidence to present, which I regret. When you get the matter settled, I would like to be informed because, at various times, I have talked about it for years and been on the lookout in the literature for explanation."

And Mr. Geo. B. Catlin, Librarian of the *Detroit News*, sends us this very interesting item:

"With regard to the 'Wolverine State' I am quite at a loss as to the origin of the nickname of Wolverine for Michigander. I believe it to be of very long standing, dating probably from the early days of American settlement and that it was intended to be opprobrious rather than complimentary. This calling of names in a spirit of derision was a common practice among early settlers and was supposed to have some special application or some allusion to a common characteristic. Early settlers of Arkansas commonly carried a bowie-knife in the bootleg or down the back of their necks whence—in case of a brawl—it could be drawn quickly without exciting suspicion because the person might appear as about to scratch himself. The bowie-knife was playfully known as a "toothpick" and was sometimes so used, and so the Arkansans came to be known as 'Toothpicks.' Georgians were 'buzzards;' Illinoisans were 'Suckers;' Kansans were "Jayhawkers;" Kentuckians, 'Corn-crackers;' Marylanders were 'Crawthumpers,' Minnesotans were 'Gophers,' probably because so many of the early settlers lived in sod houses, etc.

"Such terms of derision were pretty commonly adopted as proud titles like the term 'Yankees.' Yankee Doodle was originally a British ballad in which the soldiers of the Revolution were ridiculed but the American soldiers adopted the air and made it popular with several poetic versions. One of the original stanzas went something like this:

The Yankees ran from Bunker Hill  
With bayonets declining,  
In ragged coats and lop-down hats  
And leather aprons shining.

"The Wolverine, of all the fauna of the west and north, was the most detestable and despised because of its savage disposition and disgusting habits. It was never common in the lower peninsula but ranged farther north. The largest of the weasel family it was feared by all smaller animals. It was



not swift of movement but remarkably cunning. It would take up a trapper's trail, follow his trap-line, destroy all caught animals, and steal the bait from every set trap without getting caught. It had an insatiable appetite, drank the blood of its victims and often let the carcass lie until it became putrid before eating the flesh. To prevent it from being eaten by any other animal it deliberately defiled it. All its excreta had a powerful and disgusting odor and it was said that no other animal would touch the food store of a wolverine.

"Bela Hubbard who began writing about Michigan fauna, flora, geology, climate and meteorology in 1835 and kept it up diligently for more than 50 years left this record regarding the Wolverine:

"Michigan is about its southern limit. As this almost extinct animal has given to our state its slang name, some interest attaches to it which it would not otherwise possess. From this resemblance to the bear this animal has been placed by some authorities among the *URSIDAE*."

"Having given some description of the wolverine [sic] in a preceding letter I will only now add that considering his mischievous and destructive disposition he looks quite meek. The head is almost sheep-like. Are we to infer that the people of the Wolverine State are very lamb-like to outward appearance, but very dangerous to meddle with? In the same family we possess the skunk, mink, marten, fisher and weasel."

If any of our readers have additional data on this subject we would be glad to print it. It ought to be possible to determine at least the earliest printed or manuscript mention of "Wolverines" as a name applied to the people of Michigan or of this region. The earliest date of mention thus far ascertained appears to be 1835.

**M**ORE and more we are coming to realize the value to Michigan of its thousands of inland lakes. It is to be regretted that many are misnamed in a manner that tends to injure their attractiveness. Some of the names not only lack beauty but fail to establish identity. There are at least a score of Long Lakes, as many more Crooked Lakes, a dozen to fifteen Round Lakes and Pickerel Lakes, any number of Mud Lakes, and three or four each of Crystal, Bluegill, Bass, Perch, Silver, Indian, Bullhead, Rice, Grass, Green and Pine Lakes, not to speak of inappropriate and awkward names like Twenty-one Lake, Eighteen Mile Lake, and Dead Man's Lake. And the same applies in a measure to streams. This duplication of lake and stream names is specially confusing to tourists.

To rename these waters is a task that will require careful study and tactful consideration of all interests concerned. The elimination of all of the duplications is probably not practicable, because of extensive resort development, of long established usage, or of local historical associations, but this need not discourage attempt to eliminate as much of the confusion as possible. Such work could not of course be forced to immediate conclusion. It could be initiated as favorable opportunity permits, in counties where schools, farm organizations, chambers of commerce, clubs and societies of any sort are ready to help. Especially should it be done in those counties which are being covered by the Land and Economic Survey, so that the changes can be shown on the new maps.

Some progress in this direction has already been made. The initial impulse came in the summer of 1927 from the United States Geographic Board, which through cooperation of the various states, is compiling a new national geographic gazetteer. Its chairman, Mr. Frank Bond, took up the matter of duplicate Michigan names with Mr. John A. Doelle, executive secretary of the Michigan Real Estate Association, who brought it to the favorable attention of Governor Green, whereupon the Governor appointed George N. Fuller, secretary of the Michigan Historical Commission, to take such steps as

would be needed to carry this work through. A central committee was formed consisting of John A. Doelle; R. A. Smith, State Geologist; L. R. Shoenmann, director of the Land-Economic Survey, Department of Conservation; E. L. Hunter, in charge of stream and drain work in the Department of Agriculture; and George N. Fuller, chairman. This central committee is developing cooperative arrangements with all regional and local organizations willing to take an active interest in this work of eliminating duplicate, undesirable, or inappropriate lake and stream names. The committee at Lansing acts largely as a clearinghouse and intermediary between the local organizations and the United States Geographic Board which has authority over the matter of geographic names in the United States.

The committee announces that it will not accept nor transmit to the National Geographic Board any changes except such as are approved by the local organizations concerned. It does not presume to make any arbitrary changes whatever. It recommends, however, that the new names be chosen from local historical characters or incidents, physiographic features, etc., such as pioneers, Indian chiefs, legends, battles, settlements, or people prominent in the vicinity of the particular lake or active in resort or recreation development. In the case of small lakes the names of the owners are to be recommended.

In any case, the purpose of the committee is to help get rid of the confusing duplication, and names that are awkward or inappropriate. This is the first systematic effort of the kind to be made in Michigan and we commend it to the hearty cooperation of all.

“**B**IRDS OF THE STATES.”—Under this caption appears a note in the March number of *Nature Magazine* giving the following list, which is stated to be incomplete. Can you add to it?

Florida—Mockingbird  
Kansas—Eastern Meadowlark  
Kentucky—Cardinal  
Louisiana—Pelican  
Maine—Black-capped Chickadee  
Maryland—Baltimore Oriole  
Missouri—Bluebird  
Nebraska—Western Meadowlark  
New York—Bluebird  
Oregon—Western Meadowlark  
Texas—Mockingbird  
Virginia—Robin  
Wisconsin—Robin

Michigan does not appear to have selected a “State Bird.” What bird would our readers suggest for Michigan?

In the same number of *Nature Magazine* appears the following list of official State flowers: Alabama, Goldenrod; Alaska, Forget-me-not; Arizona, Giant cactus; Arkansas, Apple blossom; California, Golden poppy; Colorado, White and Lavender Columbine; Connecticut, Mountain Laurel; Delaware, Peach blossom; District of Columbia, American Beauty rose; Florida, Orange blossom; Georgia, Cherokee rose; Idaho, Syringa; Illinois, Native violets; Indiana, Tulip tree; Iowa, Wild rose; Kansas, Sunflower; Kentucky, Trumpet vine; Louisiana, Magnolia; Maine, Pine cone and tassel; Maryland, Black-eyed Susan; Massachusetts, Trailing arbutus; Michigan, Apple blossom; Minnesota, Moccasin flower; Mississippi, Magnolia; Missouri, Red haw; Montana, Bitter-root; Nebraska, Goldenrod; New Hampshire, Purple lilac; Nevada, Sage bush; New Jersey, Violet; New Mexico, Cactus; New York, Rose; North Carolina, Daisy or Goldenrod; North Dakota, Wild prairie rose; Ohio, Scarlet carnation; Oklahoma, Mistletoe; Oregon,

Oregon grape; Pennsylvania, Laurel and Tulip tree; Rhode Island, Violet; South Carolina, Yellow Jasmine; South Dakota, Pasque flower; Tennessee, Passion flower; Texas, Blue bonnet; Utah, Sego lily; Vermont, Red clover; Virginia, Dogwood; Washington, Rhododendron; West Virginia, Rhododendron; Wisconsin, Violet; Wyoming, Indian paint brush.

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MORE about "Johnny Appleseed." There has come to our desk a neatly illustrated booklet published in 1926 by the Chicago Historical Society, some dozen pages, giving the life of Jonathan Chapman (Johnny Appleseed) as written by his grandson, "one who knew him well,"—James Latimore Himrod, LL.D. All who enjoy reading about this quaint character will wish to obtain the booklet from the Chicago Historical Society.

"For this authoritative story of Johnny Appleseed we of the Middle West owe much gratitude to James Latimore Himrod, a son of a long line of pioneers. His succinct account of the birth of this altruistic idea in the mind of an obscure but high minded citizen and his narrative of Chapman's well devised plan for carrying on the work, take this subject out of the class of myths and give it a footing based on actual documents," so runs the preface.

"The fact that one of the little deer-skin sacks in which the seeds were originally distributed is still treasured by a member of Dr. Himrod's family speaks volumes for the truth of this beautiful chapter in American life. Its commemoration will be evidence of reverence for American ideals on the part of our community."

Following the biographical sketch is a list of biography and fiction in which Johnny Appleseed has figured. It is interesting to know that he is the hero of a volume of 340 pages published by Harpers in 1915. The book is by Mrs. Eleanor Atkinson and is called *Johnny Appleseed; The Romance of the*

Sower. And Macmillans in 1904 published "The Quest of John Chapman; the story of a Forgotten Hero," by Newell Dwight Hillis.

Agricultural journals such as *Country Gentleman*, *Fruit Grower*, *American Forestry*, and *American Florist* have all at one time or another given space to articles about Johnny Appleseed. One of the best appears in *Harper's Magazine* for November 1871.

Dr. Himrod has given here besides the life sketch of his grandfather, a pageant play entitled "Johnny Appleseed," adapted for the use of schools, clubs, and civic organizations.

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CHIEF OKEMOS probably will be of perennial interest to dwellers in the Grand River valley, and every once in a while a specially interesting item about him comes to hand. The following was obtained by Mrs. Ellis Harry Baker of Lansing through the kindness of Mrs. John Smallwood also of that city, who cites the story as the old chief himself used to tell it when she was a little girl living with her parents on a farm just out of Grand Ledge. Her parents moved to this farm in 1856 and this incident was told in 1859. Mrs. Baker writes:

Before the war of the Revolution Chief Okemos was a very mean and treacherous Indian, as well as influential leader of his tribe. A deadly shot, one of the stories told of his remarkable marksmanship was, that with bow and arrow he could bring to earth any bird he chose out of the skies, thinking nothing of it. The news of these feats reached the British officers, and on the opening of the Revolutionary War and the hiring of Indians to massacre the Whites, they found Okemos, at the age of 48, leading his men in behalf of the English cause.

The events that followed added color to the Chief's life but are far from being anything a white man would be proud of.



While the soldiers recruited from farming districts were in the East fighting, the Indians were killing the old men left behind, dashing the children's brains out against the fireplaces and taking the women captive. For the early pioneers things looked quite dark both at home and at the front. Yet all through this our great leader and first President George Washington never faltered in his faith that God would watch over, protect and guide him till in the end would come peace and independence. Such an able and God-fearing leader of the Yankee forces was a menace to the British. They must rid themselves of him. Consequently Chief Okemos was picked from the Indian ranks for the task of putting Washington out of the way. Confident in his ability and enthused over his exalted position he took up the trail. Day after day he followed Washington, lurking around the camp day and night, but to no avail. One morning early, his chance came. He spied Washington leaving the encampment alone. He followed at a short distance, through a cleared field of timber, just stumps remaining. Here in this open place Washington kneeled to pray. The opportunity for Okemos was at hand. Washington, unconscious of impending danger, having placed himself in God's keeping, seemed to be telling his troubles to the Great Spirit.

The scene touched Okemos but he advanced closer. He would take no chances especially when not necessary. Now that he was so close that missing was entirely out of the question, he paused. Yonder just a short pace was that leader of the Whites, whose life the British so eagerly sought.

He raised his bow, fitted an arrow, took steady aim, and let fly. The arrow sped fast but missed its mark, lodging in the stump near which Washington knelt. The General never moved. Okemos wondered, again he fired, and again missed, the arrow lodging close by the praying Washington. Okemos continued firing, till in all nine arrows had lodged in front of Washington, at his feet, over his head, in the stump, and nearby close on both sides.

Okemos was deeply moved. He realized that the Great Spirit had touched his bow string, saving the life of the White leader. Okemos was to become a changed man. He figured that there must be something worth while in the White man's religion. No more would he make mockery of it as he had in the past, but he would find out more about it. Resolving not to offend this White man's God more, he turned, leaving Washington still on his knees. He lead his followers back home and to peace. Never after did he go into battle against the Whites. Learning of this the British inquired; he replied, "Me no kill no more whites, no, no, Great Spirit no like."

Okemos was a Chippewa chief as was his father before him. There is some argument as to where he was born. Some think at an encampment where today the Grand Trunk Railroad crosses the Shiawassee River just east of Bancroft, not far from John Knaggs' old settlement. Another report states that he came here from Massachusetts. The chances are that this report is confused with his battles in the East at the time. The pipe which old Okemos smoked was all of three feet long. His people were apt basket makers. Mrs. Smallwood has in her possession now a basket which is 69 years old made by Okemos' tribe.

Okemos was a religious man, returning thanks at the table, and never allowing his people to gather wood on Sabbath, or pick berries or make baskets, in fact do any labor whatever on the Sabbath.

At this time Mrs. Smallwood was a girl 10 years old. On coming to the farm home early one morning Okemos was invited to breakfast. She can remember yet how frightened she was at first seeing him and hearing him tell of his horrible deeds. Chief Okemos gave his age at that time as 132 years. He died the following year (1860).

A boulder has been placed to his memory by the D. A. R. at his grave near the village of Okemos in Ingham county.

**T**OURISTS visiting southwestern Michigan can hardly afford to miss spending at least part of a day in the Chamberlain Memorial Museum at Three Oaks, and "The Galien Woods" and the historic Warren dunes near by on Lake Michigan. George R. Fox, Director of the Edward K. Warren Foundation, writes:

During the past few weeks the Chamberlain Memorial Museum has been the recipient of several valuable collections from the United States National Museum. Among these are two separate shipments of patent models.

In the United States Patent Office there have been accumulating for a century thousands upon thousands of models sent in by inventors when seeking to obtain a patent on a device. The problem of room for housing and storing these models, now no longer of use as patent exhibits, became such that Congress recently authorized the Patent Office to turn over to the National Museum all such. The National Museum was to retain those which it deemed to have a national museum interest and to dispose of the rest to museums throughout the United States.

The Chamberlain Museum was fortunate enough to secure two collections, the first consisting of eighty-four models, the latter of ninety-three. These models are of the greatest value to this Museum for they are of the time, largely from 1830 to 1880, which the museum was designed to cover. They are of articles which were patented for use in those days, as hatchels, plows, sugar-making machines, traps, pins, and the like.

The models usually are perfect working miniatures, as of a bed with slat-springs, mouse traps, hoes, musical instruments, including a small melodeon.

The models will form additions to complete a series in many groups of exhibits, and of themselves make a display that will attract the greatest attention and give a remarkable picture of that period of American life when the development of America's mechanical mind was broadening into the industrial thinking machine that makes America so great in the present day.

Another very choice collection consists of representative pieces of Indian pottery from the southwest. This numbers twenty-five pieces, many gathered by Cushing, Mindeleff, and other noted archaeologists and explorers of that region in the latter part of the last century.

Pottery from Zuni, Acoma, and other of the Pueblos is found in the collections, which shows cups, plaques, dippers and other forms, nearly all painted and otherwise ornamented in the designs and figures of the Pueblo culture.

Another collection, which will be used in supplementing an exhibit on "The Story of Money" contains many of the shell and wampum beads that served as money to the primitive American.

A collection also of this nature was obtained by exchange with the Newark Museum of Newark, N. J. This shows samples of wampum as made by the white man and accepted by the Indian on a par, or even at a greater value, than that so slowly and painstakingly ground out by himself.

The good friends of the Museum have recently been adding greatly to the collections. Hardly a day passes but what a goodly number of specimens are received. Less than a year ago it was proudly announced that the 50,000 mark was passed. Now the collections are well on the way to 65,000, having passed 63,000.

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**A** GAIN Regent Clements has placed Michigan to the fore with a valuable contribution to his great collection of Americana in the William L. Clements Library. This time it is the famous painting, "The Death of General Wolfe," by the first American painter to gain European reputation, Benjamin West.

This picture shows the final scene at the Battle on the Plains of Abraham, above Quebec, when in 1759 the British captured the city, and consequently the whole of Canada, from the

French. Benjamin West was an American painter, a Philadelphian, who went to England to study. His imagination was captivated by the heroism of General Wolfe and he set to work to put it on canvas.

Contrary to the tradition of his day, West refused to paint the English, French and Indian warriors in anything but exactly what they really wore. The classical tradition was strong upon the artists of his day, and he was expected to paint his characters in Roman armor and flowing togas. Instead, he studied each character with care and portrayed each in the uniform of his regiment on the day of the battle. The King of England, George III, shared in the disapproval the critics manifested at West's bold departure from the ordinary artistic conventions of the day. The picture was then bought by Lord Grosvenor, and by him put upon public exhibition.

Instead of following the opinions of the artists, the critics and the King, the British public manifested a most enthusiastic appreciation for West's work. Thousands upon thousands of people crowded to see it. Benjamin West therefore may be credited with having changed the method of painting historical pictures, and established the tradition that a battle ought to be portrayed with characters in the uniforms they actually wore. King George III then changed his mind about the picture and ordered West to paint another exactly like Grosvenor's.

Count Waldeck of Germany also ordered one, which is really the choicest of the three, as it includes a greater area and was painted by West after he had had opportunity for further study. The Grosvenor copy was inherited by the Duke of Westminster, who in 1918 gave it to the Dominion of Canada. It hangs now in Ottawa. The King's copy is still at Buckingham Palace, in London.

The Waldeck copy is that which Mr. Clements has just purchased. The painting has been in the possession of the Counts Waldeck since 1776, and it was sold by the present nobleman of that name. It was brought to America some weeks ago, and

put on exhibition at the Bottenweiser Galleries in New York. There Mr. Clements saw it and purchased it as an appropriate picture for his Library of American History at the University of Michigan.—*Michigan Alumnus*.

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**A**BOUT 100 members and guests sat down to dinner at the Detroit-Leland hotel April 12 on the occasion of the joint meeting of the State Historical Society and the Detroit Historical Society in commemoration of the 100th anniversary of the founding of the first Historical Society in Michigan. *Report*

The principal event of the evening was an address by Prof. Louis C. Karpinski of the University of Michigan, upon his experiences during a recent trip to Europe in search of manuscript maps of America in France, Spain and Portugal, the text of which will later be published in the Magazine. Following the address there were discussions of this and related fields of historical work, by President William L. Clements of the State Society, President Clarence M. Burton of the Detroit organization, and William L. Jenks of Port Huron.

Mr. Clements presided at the meeting. Rev. Fr. Corrigan of Detroit University gave the invocation. Vocal selections were rendered by Mrs. Joseph Crotzer, contralto, accompanied by Mrs. Gertrude Heinze Greer, both of Detroit.

A brief business session of the State Historical Society preceded the regular program. Secretary Fuller reviewed the last annual meeting held in July, 1927, at St. Ignace and Mackinac Island, and gave a general description of the publishing activities of the Michigan Historical Commission. The membership in the Society was stated to number 507. The report of Treasurer B. F. Davis showed total receipts of \$583.16 for the year; total expenditures \$292.20; balance on hand April 4, 1928, \$290.96. The following Trustees were elected for the biennium 1928-1930: William L. Jenks, Port Huron; Clarence M. Burton, Detroit; William L. Clements, Bay City; Clarence E.



Bement, Lansing; Smith Burnham, Kalamazoo. For President in 1928-1929, Prof. Claude S. Larzelere of Central State Teachers College, Mt. Pleasant; Vice-president, Prof. Lew Allen Chase of Northern State Teachers College, Marquette; Secretary, George N. Fuller, Lansing; Treasurer, Benjamin F. Davis, Lansing.

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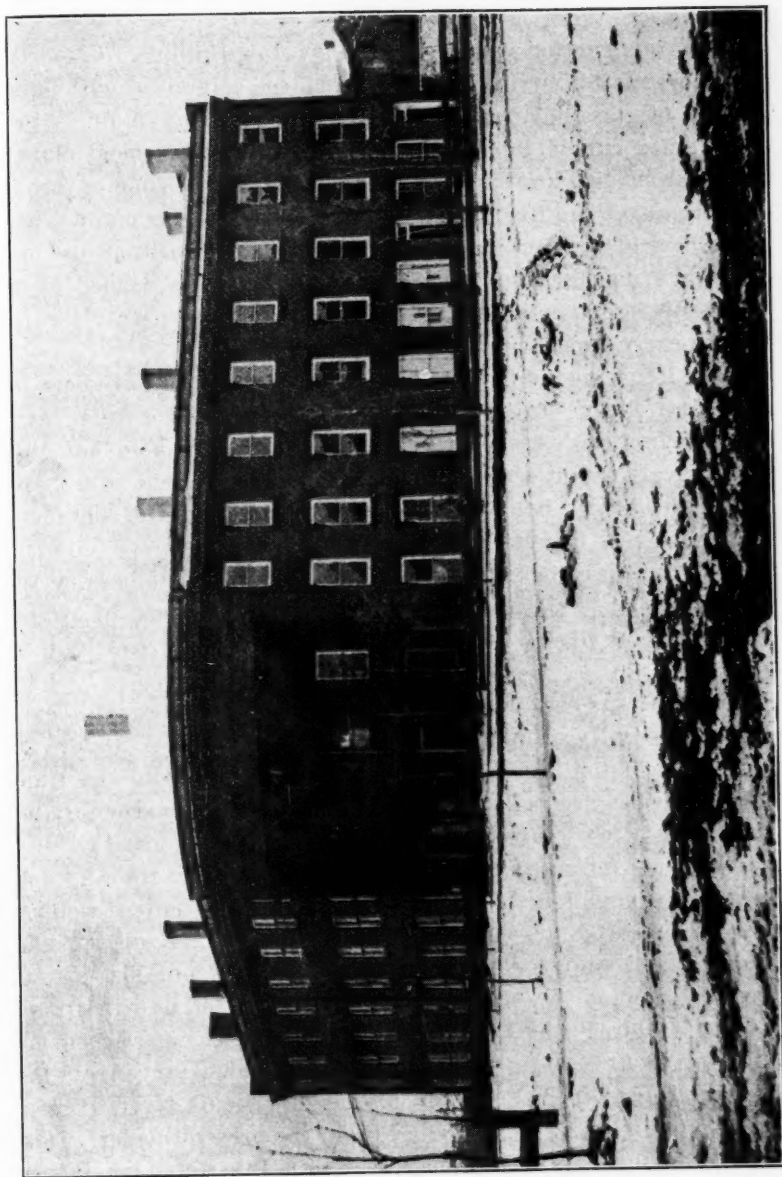
THE Board of Directors of the Marquette County Historical Society has authorized the publication of a complete catalogue of the library of the Society and also the purchase of additional equipment to accommodate its rapidly growing collections. Miss Olive Pendill, Curator of the Museum, is putting the catalogue in final form for publication.

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IN the October number of 1927 (p. 691) was printed a notice of the old Perrin Collegiate Institute of Marshall in Calhoun County, from the papers of the late Mrs. James H. Campbell. It is there stated that the building was formerly the "Marshall House," which is incorrect; it was known as the "Mansion House," as appears in the note from Mrs. Craig C. Miller of Marshall printed in the April 1928 number (p. 405), but unfortunately the picture accompanying the note suffered a clerical error in the legend which makes it appear as the "Marshall House." A picture of the Marshall House is received from Mrs. Craig, who writes about it as follows:

*Marshall House*

Among the old-time hostelries in Michigan none were more famous than the Marshall House, built by the Marshall House Company in 1838, one year after Michigan had become a State and seven years after the settlement of the village. Sidney Ketchum, the founder of Marshall held the deed to the land. The architect chosen to design the building was R. M. Upjohn, architect of Trinity Church in New York. The material used



The Marshall House

in its construction was brick. Heavy fluted pillars formed the support of its portico, and iron corniced windows, with large panes of glass gave grandeur to its appearance. A finely proportioned cupola topped the edifice. It was the most elaborately furnished and finished caravansary at the time of any in Michigan, or the Northwest, and a noted resort for many years. The cost of its erection was \$30,000. As the railroad did not extend from Jackson till 1845-46, stage coaches dashed up to the imposing portal to unload and take on the travelers of those early times.

The left wing contained offices, dining room and kitchens on the first floor. The second story was given over to a large auditorium with stage at one end. Here were held not only theatricals, lectures and musicals, but balls as well, and many were the merry hours spent here in dancing after delicious game dinners had been partaken of below.

The building remained a hotel till 1864 when it became the property of Perrin and Sibley, after many changes in ownership since it passed out of the hands of Sidney Ketchum in 1854.

In 1866 was established therein the Perrin Collegiate Institute, a boarding and day school for young ladies under the direction of the Misses Josephine and Ellen Bacon who came from Massachusetts to take over its charge. This school flourished for a few years, and after it was discontinued the Marshall House fell into evil days being first rented to roomers and gradually abandoned. The Calhoun County History written in 1877 says of it "The Marshall House is tenantless, and though a gloomy looking pile at present has not lost all its former grandeur." About 1880 the left wing fell and that part of the building was removed together with the porticoed entrance. About 1890 the property passed by inheritance from the estate of Horace J. Perrin to his nephew Louis M. J. Perrin, thence to his widow Mrs. Belle Perrin the present owner. Mrs. Perrin remodeled the standing right wing into a fine two storey apartment house. The building still retains its distinguished

appearance, and when one enters the lofty finely proportioned rooms the grandeur and gaiety of its early day comes vividly to mind.

MRS. CRAIG C. MILLER, Marshall, Michigan.  
(Pioneer ancestor, Chauncey M. Brewer, settled in Marshall, 1836.)

*history*  
**T**HE PRESQUE ISLE COUNTY ADVANCE has just celebrated its 50th year of residence in the county with an Anniversary Edition of 46 pages. The edition shows the staff to be made up of seven, numbering the Bulldog "Print," whose picture is shown in this issue. The issue is made up of editorials, special feature articles, and items of interest from back files. There is included a facsimile of Page 1 of the oldest copy still in possession of the office, (Vol. I, No. 8) dated June 18, 1878. Congratulations to the editor and assistants for undertaking this full historical edition, from the story of early logging days, lake traffic, beginnings of civic activities, and the coming of the first railroad, down to the comparatively recent development of the limestone lands and the bringing of the first telephone into Presque Isle County. These varied activities are generously illustrated with cuts made from tin-types and photos resurrected from the attics and albums of the county's pioneers. Read how Rogers City celebrated the Fourth of July in 1879: *50 years 1879*

"The boom of cannon at Rogers City at midnight of the 3rd ushered in the birth of the Fourth of July 1879; and sunrise of the fourth burst with unusual splendor on the citizens of this busy and prosperous little burg. Nature seemed to vie with man in arranging herself in her most charming manner for the occasion, and the heavy rains of the previous day had rendered the air beautifully fresh and invigorating, and the rejuvenated vegetable kingdom sent in its homage through an atmosphere laden with sweet perfumes from the floral world. The

warbling carols of the little songsters in our gardens and neighboring groves seemed full of a more joyous cadence than is usual on ordinary days, and their very plumage seemed burnished up with brighter tints than is usually seen. Between 9 and 10 a. m. many farmers and their teams having arrived, a procession of vehicles nearly half a mile long was formed and drove through the various streets of the town, picking up every family from the oldest to the youngest and as the gaily dressed citizens began to take their seats in carriages gorgeously festooned with evergreens and flowers and drawn by horses literally resplendent with the Stars and Stripes and other national emblems, sweet music began to float upon the summer air and the very voices of children prattled in loving harmony with the patriotic airs of their native land; wagons gaily decorated followed in the rear with choicest cakes and most substantial viands while others followed laden with Bitter's celebrated beer, for which Presque Isle county is beginning to get a reputation, even outside this State. The procession now marched up Michigan avenue to a grove just outside the village limits and situated on the property of Herman Hoeft Esq. Here all alighted and gazed upon a scene that seemed literally to belie both nature and art, and belonging to the enchanted visions of Aladdin. A well graded street terminated at the foot of a beautifully wooded bluff or miniature mountain. Upon the table land at its foot had been erected a large dancing hall, actually carved out of densest evergreens but its front open and facing the bluff. Winding stairs encircled the hall and several semi-circular tiers of seats were cut out in it, making it resemble a wooded amphitheatre. Here hundreds could sit and gaze directly into the dancing hall below, while near the summit was erected a rostrum from whence the various speakers of the day could be both seen and heard by all present. A beautiful little rivulet tumbled in silver cascades adown the hill and was here and there crossed by rustic bridges; while the top of the height was crowned by a dining hall of evergreens wherein tables had been spread and

the best of cheer been provided for all present by a committee of the ladies of Rogers. At the rear of the arboreal dining hall a large marquee had been erected for the sole convenience of the ladies, nursemaids, and children, and from the west entrance of the same a perfectly covered avenue of shrubs and evergreens wound around the west side of the hill to a lovely natural grotto where Messrs. Kitchen & LaLonde dispensed Bittner's beer, ginger ale, lemonade, oranges, ice cream, strawberries and cream and cigars to the happy celebrants.

"Dinner over, after a few well chosen remarks, the Declaration of Independence was read by Fred'c Denny Larke, Philip O'Farrell followed with an elegant, exhaustive and patriotic speech, fitting to the occasion. He was followed by speeches in German and English by Mr. F. Moennich, and in French by Mr. Amable LaLonde, Sr. Different sports commenced and patriotic songs were sung with much taste and feeling by Mr. and Mrs. Clothier, Messrs. Christian Bahr, A. E. Banks, F. Moennich, and Miss Minnie Moennich, Mrs. Hoeft, and Mr. and Mrs. Louis Bruder, and others too numerous to mention.

"Dancing was kept up until nightfall, when all departed from the grounds, not, however, to wind up the festivities of the day, for after taking an hour for tea at their own homes, all again reassembled to witness one of the grandest pyrotechnical displays ever seen upon the shores of Lake Huron north of Detroit. This probably took about one hour, or until 10 p. m. The tired and sleepy then went to their homes, but quite a large portion not considering the Fourth properly spent until the morning of the fifth, adjourned to the City Hotel and danced until the dawn of day warned them that the Fourth of July 1879 was a thing of the past.

"No disturbances marred the pleasure of the day. The beer-loving Teuton, fiery Pole, volatile Frenchman, and more prosaic American and English speaking citizens all hobnobbed and mingled glasses together, and the editor of this paper so far departed from his usual custom as to drink two full glasses of beer on the festive occasion."



A NEW quarterly journal, *Agricultural History*, is being developed to make available for students and the general public the results of research in this field.

In the past few years many historians have begun to recognize the importance of agriculture in the development of our country. Many of our educational institutions now have a live interest in agricultural history and are developing research along that line.

In 1919 the Agricultural History Society (Washington, D. C.) was organized for the purpose of promoting the study and facilitating the publication of research in the history of agriculture. The Society now has over two hundred members. Three volumes of "papers" have been published through cooperation with the American Historical Association. The Society is now undertaking to develop this Journal of Agricultural History. Two numbers have been issued and a third is in press. The Journal will be issued quarterly.

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"CONTRASTS more striking than those afforded by the career of Étienne Veniard, Sieur de Bourgmont, are seldom united in the life story of a single individual," writes Dr. M. M. Quaife, in the March number of the *Burton Historical Collection Leaflet*. "Soldier, deserter, outlaw, bush-ranger, able explorer and trusted official, ennobled by a grateful monarch, under whose authority he had earlier stood in imminent peril of the death penalty, his career would seem to belie the ancient maxim that the Ethiopian cannot change his skin nor the leopard his spots." This character figured conspicuously for a brief time in early Detroit history, and his story is here told in fascinating style by the editor of the Burton Collection. The May *Leaflet* carries a sketch of Commodore Alexander Grant, who for some fifty years in the days of British occupation "ruled the upper lakes." In this connection the story of "The Royal Navy of the Upper Lakes" in Vol. II, pp. 49-64 of the *Leaflet* presents an interesting background.

Dear Editor:

I NOTE in your issue of January 1928, that Dr. Quaife gives me credit for raising the question concerning the ancestry of Mme. LaFramboise. Had he read my previous letter, published in the October 1926 issue, he would see that I have read Mme. Thérèse Baird's reminiscences, as they are referred to in that communication. The question of ancestry had been raised before I knew of Mme. LaFramboise.

Parkman (Wood's *Historic Mackinac*, I, 208), in his notebook makes this distinction, "Mrs. Fisher, a half-breed, and Mme. LaFramboise, a Chippewa." Mrs. Kinzie (*Wau-Bun*, ed. 1901, p. 23), speaks of "Mme. LaFramboise, an Ottawa woman," though she makes the difference plain about others she meets, calling them part Indian and part French, etc. Generally, Mme. LaFramboise is referred to as an Indian woman, and Josette as half-Indian. I suppose, as I said in the letter referred to by Dr. Quaife, that sounded more romantic. Mary Hartwell Catherwood, who was much on the Island, and reflects in her stories the current legends, refers to her (thinly disguised as "Mme. LaBoise" in "The Black Feather",—*Mackinac and Lakes Stories*, Harpers, 1899) as "a Chippeway."

In the sketches from Schoolcraft's Diary (Wood *op. cit.*, II, 237) he says, "Mrs. Therese Schindler, a daughter of a former factor of the N. W. company at Mackinac," etc. The name of Marcotte has not yet been found among the lists of factors of the Northwest Company. This does not mean that he might not have been one, or that he might not have been French. French names were sometimes given to Indians when they were baptized, or as a translation of their Indian names. Mrs. Baird's reminiscences are valuable, but not final. In her article she speaks of one man as an Indian, whose descendants have a genealogical record which gives him as French a name as Marcot (te). These descendants do not pretend to know whether or not he was full Indian.

MARION MORSE DAVIS.

U P P E R P E N I N S U L A friends of Mrs. Ferrey, veteran curator of the State Pioneer Museum at Lansing, will be interested in the account of a trip she made through the peninsula in the Fall of 1916, which pictures with characteristic comment the peninsula on the eve of our entrance into the World War. Mrs. Ferrey is always specially glad to welcome Upper Peninsula folk to the Museum. The account of this trip was first printed in *Moderator-Topics*. She says:

There is very little exciting, but much interesting, in a ride from Lansing to Mackinac City. The pioneer looks in vain for the Saginaw marshes, but sees, instead, productive farms, and beholds coal mines. He searches, almost fruitlessly, for "Saginaw's tall whispering pines"; in place of these he hears the blasts of steam whistles and honk of motor cars. Sugar beet and chicory factories greet his eyes, but no piles of logs or fences of boards houses high, line the river and bay as of yore. On every side he listens to dialects and foreign tongues. Some mother's heart would have been touched, as among the passengers on the cars, we saw a German woman with three children, well dressed and lusty, but a baby less than two years old eating fruit cake, preparatory, presumably, to a diet of frankfurts and sauerkraut.

The depot at Mackinac City is located in a park rather poorly kept. We looked in vain for some traces of Old Michilimackinac, and failed to get the exact location of the fort. One gentleman has a very fine exhibit of relics gathered from there. He told me he had 18 skeletons of the 259 English victims of the massacre who were buried outside the fort in trenches, by the French. He gave me much information, never in print before, concerning the reasons for this cruel slaughter, which he received from an old Indian chief, and if this were true, as everything pointed to, it makes what seems like savage butchery, simply justice or punishment for wrongs.

At the head of the main street there was a stone pillar just dedicated, the inscription on which read: X "To Horatio Earle, the Father of Good Roads." X If we study history carefully

we find Father Richard, our third territorial delegate in congress, who in broken English, pleaded eloquently for better roads and made figures to show what it had cost Michigan to move her supplies, secure transportation or defend herself from her Indian foes. General Cass, also, exploited a passage through the heretofore impassable Maumee swamp. While not attempting to detract from the just fame of the enthusiastic, conscientious, zealous and successful work of Michigan's "Horatio," we can hardly call him the pioneer in this enterprise.

Mackinac Island, so accessible and attractive in the summer season, can only be reached by the car ferry in the late fall or winter. Could nature have done more anywhere than for this magic island! Nearly, if not quite, every variety of flora and fauna in the state can be found here. A morning ride around the island, behind a fine span of horses before a rockaway, seemed like a trip through Fairyland. When we saw the narrow roads we no longer wondered at the entire absence of automobiles or trucks.

The next morning Superintendent Kenyon, who has done such marvelous work in developing and caring for the park, conducted us over the rest of the grounds. This is the only fort now in existence, I believe, in Michigan, giving one a good idea of the early defences. As a matter of fact, however, these blockhouses, walls, ramparts and palisades would be but little better than paper in present military affairs.

Mackinac Island is particularly fortunate in having so many markers and tablets. First is the handsome statute of Pere Marquette, raised largely through the efforts of our grand old citizen, Honorable Peter White. Next in size is the General Cass tablet. Going back to the earliest history of the island is the marker of Nicolet. A boulder in honor of Doctor Beaumont places Michigan in the front ranks of scientific medical discoveries. The tasty tablet to Constance Fenimore Woolson, so beautifully placed in a hollow looking like a wooden bowl, covered with a carpet of myrtle, and a suggestive bookrack in

bronze showing the volumes of the author, brings to mind Michigan history and the story of Anne. Her cottage stood beside the old Indian Dormitory, now the public school of the island. These places, also, should be marked for the instruction of visitors, increasing every year as its beauties become known.

It is discouraging that the city or state does not purchase the old Astor House, before any more reconstruction takes place. Preserving the old and aping the new styles of architecture recalls the criticism of the suburban residences of Boston, which are said to be Queen Anne fronts and Sally Ann backs. During my stay the fire marshal condemned the oldest house as a menace. If the house be worthless, as they claim, it would only mean for the city to buy the site. It is pitiful that soon nothing will be left of this but a post card.

The old Indian cemetery is now used as a cow pasture. The bodies were removed, but there are several dilapidated and broken tombstones left, one recording the death of a man in 1827, aged 91. Another gave a very early date. Mr. Kenyon promised to see the priest and have these fragments placed in the cemetery at the fort.

St. Ignace presented a beautiful picture with the lake, a veritable glimmerglass, the sunlight dancing on the waves and the shores gorgeous in autumn foliage. The morning mass found the church full, although the repairs to the building surrounded you with scaffolds and platforms. Remnants of the old Mission House appeal sadly to you in a part of the chimney left while the building is converted into a novelty store. Our new version of Scripture should read: "In my Father's house there are many stores and garages," as the "mansions" are so nearly extinct.

For the first time I approached the "Soo" by rail from the south, which is not as attractive as riding up hill on a vessel through the locks. Truly this is the key to the celestial waterways of the world. In the evening, in about an hour, we saw six large boats, one over 600 feet long, passed through the locks. The next day we went to the Canadian side, viewing the first

lock which looked like an out-of-door bath tub. Unfortunately we were stopped by armed soldiers, who demanded our passports and refused any progress even when we told them how very peaceful we were. A rumor of a German attack on the English locks had reached them. This, and the 100 tents on the hillside, made us realize while not *in* war we were *very* near to it. Contentedly we returned to the American shore with its three marvelous locks, and the fourth in construction.

At the Women's Club, held in the hall of the Knights of Pythias, we saw a picture of the log house where this great fraternal organization, second only to Masonry, was born. The schools of the "Soo" have been benefited by the addition of a new high school, a credit not only to the "Soo" but to the State of Michigan. Its citizens are very enterprising but overlook their great opportunities in showing their precedence and remarkability in putting Michigan on the map. Dates should inform the passersby of the antiquity of their beautiful city. In the park the pillars presented by Ex-Governor Osborn give one a very oriental feeling. A fine and beautiful obelisk stands on the bank of St. Mary's river and the new postoffice is located on the grounds of the old Indian cemetery. The contractors were said to have received \$10 per body for removing the remains, and this was publicly done in the day time, and at night the coffins were taken back to insure an extra \$10 apiece the next day. It raises the question: "Who is safe in life or after death?" My heart was rent when I saw left only a broken chimney and about one-half of the old Johnston house, once occupied by Schoolcraft. It is now used for a henhouse. Let us cherish the hope that they keep none but registered fowls.

Our next stop was at Newberry, in Luce county. One of the hospitals of the Upper Peninsula for the Insane is beautifully located here on the heights of the city. The buildings are extensive and well kept. They were moving into a new cottage. The chapel has a fine auditorium where they have a moving picture show and a dance given weekly. Dr. Campbell, the



able head of the institution, said it was very much easier to control the men than the women, as depriving them of tobacco generally brought them to time, but the only recourse for the women was to keep them away from the entertainments, and this was not always efficacious.

There is a good new hotel, a schoolhouse, and a court house opposite a splendid piece of woods. There is much taste shown in the care of the grounds, which are well laid out.

We were very sorry to reach Munising at night, and only get a glimpse of the fascinating road even by moonlight, passing through the hills and landing at the back of the hotel, which faces the lake, and distracts one's attention from the breakfast, as the eyes behold the delightful view of forest and lake seen from the dining room. Munising is the county seat, the courthouse standing at the head of the street, flanked on one side by a superior high school with spacious grounds, in which the family have placed a statue to General Alger, from whom the county derived its name. On the opposite side is the Catholic Church, with its accompanying parochial school, which touches elbows with the Presbyterian Church standing on the corner of the block. A member of the Cleveland Cliffs Company gave the city a fine Y. M. C. A. building. There is to be found here a very progressive Women's Club, and a loyal Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution. The forester of the mining company is doing excellent work along his line, and helping the boys.

Time would not permit a trip to the Painted Rocks and Grand Marais, as we wished. When one looks at these wonders one thinks these are the northern "Gardens of the Gods" and as worthy of admiration.

We stopped next at Marquette which, with its many beautiful homes, is one of the finest residential cities of the Upper Peninsula. Its cathedral, its grand normal college, the Peter White library, its lighthouse, and expansive Presque Isle park present many attractions to the visitors. The high school in the heart of the city was an interesting place to me, as I faced 1,000 pupils gathered to listen to a talk on Michigan.

Following this, I met the students of the Baraga school, and on invitation of Father Sinpart, chaplain of the state's prison, addressed the inmates in the evening. It was a very novel experience, and for once I had my audience under complete control, for not one could leave the room. However, I did not repeat the mistake of the representative, who addressed the Boys' Industrial School at Lansing, opening his remarks by saying: "Boys, I am glad to see so many of you here!" A souvenir of my visit will be found in the museum in a sofa pillow worked and presented by one of the inmates.

We are told in Holy Writ: "No one can see God and live." It seemed to me Our Father wished to show us His face, and so He smiled into the deep waters of Lake Superior and we beheld Him in all His glory. Wishing a frame for this picture, He surrounded it with the forest trees and ordered His artists to decorate it for autumn. Finding the work so great, in despair they threw their brushes and paints in every direction, and so we have the brilliant red of the maples, the gorgeous yellow of the beeches, the rich browns of the oaks, the elusive blue green of the balsams, and the darker shades of the pines. As the rays of the full moon made a path of shimmering silver on the dark waves of the lake, methought not in picture or word could mortal show the beauty of the scene.

In Baraga, owing to the arrival of a new priest, increased work and diminished pay, we did not see the Indian school. This county with its mines less productive and its lumber nearly gone, yet with its pleasant outlook and worthy citizens, must wait for the agricultural development to keep pace with its neighbors.

At Ontonagon, after passing through the copper country, I was astonished at the progress made in farming. A few more years will show our most fertile fields and our largest crops in this northern section.

This is the land of immense distances. We did not reach Iron Mountain until four o'clock in the morning and I was

astonished to wake in my comfortable room in the hotel and see the ground covered with snow, which was rained off before night. The new high school is very superior to those found in cities of its size. The old building, so picturesquely situated with a mine at its back door, as you might say, shows the progressiveness of its citizens. As attentive and interested an audience as ever encouraged a speaker, I found here. Visiting the courthouse, and I had already been in nine counties, for the first time I saw in the courtroom a Union flag, placed there by the chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution of that city. Each and every county seat had been committing the same mistake as we had done in the capital city; line up our foreigners for the ceremony of making them citizens and making them swear allegiance to the national flag, and not one in sight. What were we thinking of? If we do not regard our oaths and respect our emblem how can we expect these aliens to do so? If we do not consider it sacred and powerful, it is no longer a flag, but a rag. Patriotism is not war, but "love of country." In these crucial times, if ever, is the time to show our loyalty by our colors. Pointing this out to four boards of supervisors, they saw what a farce we were making, and promised to atone for this unconscious neglect. The law requires a flag to float over every schoolhouse in the state. Do we observe this? Loyalty should prompt us to go farther and place in every schoolroom a map of Michigan, a flag of our state and Old Glory, and make the study of Michigan history compulsory in schools. Would not our churches be a good place for our banner? Next to our God should come our country. Let us make this our Thanksgiving for so near peace, our Christmas offering and our New Year's resolution for better citizenship, knowing more, therefore loving more our country.

While in Iron Mountain I saw the funeral procession of a little Austrian woman, not five feet tall, who was 107 years old. Think of the changes life had brought her! Only by looking backward can we realize what it means to be living today.

From Iron Mountain to Crystal Falls is one continual surprise. Promising farms, neat villages, pleasant valleys, through which flow small streams red with deposits of iron. From Crystal Falls you obtain a fine view of the surrounding country, while in the evening the lights of the homes on the far hills make you realize that "a city set on a hill cannot be hid." Here again the courthouse set at the end of the street is of good architecture for its day. Next to this is the high school, connected by a subway to a larger school building in the rear. On one side of this is a large athletic field, and on the other a beautiful small grove. With a good collection of statuary and paintings in the halls and rooms, the plant surpasses any city of its size and shows a live up-to-date school board.

In order to reach the meeting to be held in Escanaba our stay was cut short. The Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society, started in 1874, for the first time were invited to hold their autumnal session in the Upper Peninsula. It seems paradoxical when you recall that the first of our settlements were made here. Were there more intercourse and exchange of places between the two peninsulas the "Straits" would be bridged and we would be one indivisible people. Such hospitality, such co-operation, such surprises in courage, endurance and fellowship bind us to these northern brothers and sisters with cables of everlasting strength and friendship.

The meetings were held in the high school. The grounds were in fine condition and showed the pluck to bring in on cars dirt enough to make this soil on the sand foundation. Will you do for your history what you have done for your soil, and Michigan will be the richer for your labors. Excellent papers were read and good music given under the direction of the music teacher of the schools.

To Father Barth, who started the Delta County Historical Society, which offers great hopes, is due much of the success. Michigan should be proud of this loyal citizen and eloquent orator. Nine delegates were in attendance from other counties

and we hope they caught the necessity and inspiration of the meeting to do the same thing for their own localities. Three invitations were received to hold the next meeting. While the time is not ripe to write your history now, the time is ripe to gather the records while a few of the original actors are with us to tell their stories. Think of your personal losses and those of your neighborhood and estimate what it is in the whole state. Shall we allow states with less material to out-class us? If it is, as we sing, "Home of our hearts," let us be more loyal, wiser, historic men and women and pass on as good, if not better, advantages than those so dearly bought and won by our pioneer ancestors whose debt, so far, has never been paid. Freely as we have received, so freely give to the future.

From October 2 to October 20 ended one of the busiest and pleasantest journeys of my life. In this short time it was impossible to reach four counties, viz: Gogebic, Menominee, Keweenaw and Schoolcraft. The Keweenaw Historical Society includes with it Houghton and Ontonagon, or generally speaking, the copper country, and is doing valuable work in gathering statistics not heretofore known, which will give excellent information to future historians.

Menominee has done a great deal of work under the leadership of Mr. and Mrs. Sawyer and the history teacher of the schools. It should be an eye-opener to Americans to learn that a foreign child took the prize offered by the women for the best essay on the city of Menominee. Shades of our ancestors! What are we coming to? Pretty soon our native born citizens will have to have special instruction about our homes.

We must not forget our obligations to one of our strongest allies in the work, the newspapers. No one class has been more generous, in giving us space in their papers which is the same as money, to foster and promote our cause. They consented so willingly and cheerfully to the proposition to set aside a part or more of a column to pioneer matters, securing lists of inhabitants over 75 years old, whose biographies should

be gathered by the pupils in schools and credit given them in some study since the curriculum does not require any Michigan history. Many of the editors send us marked copies of local events, which we file. We preserve our records as the Irishman did when he asked the captain of the vessel: "Is anything lost whin ye knows where it be?" "No, you fool," was the reply. "Well, yer honor," responded Pat, "yer tay-kettle is overboard." So our records are too often found in the deep sea of oblivion.

Men and women of Michigan, shall we lose our rich historic material, or shall we begin to develop and conserve it until the world is convinced that whether we go north, east, south or west, our Michigan is best? It seems strange that Mackinac, the first settlement and having the distinction of originating the very first of domestic science and home economics when Baroness Van Hoeffern successfully taught the Indian girls in 1837, including general housework (she was Bishop Baraga's sister and had she been able to endure the terrible hardships she would have shared his fame); Marquette which teems with history and romance; and the Soo, a pioneer missionary field, whose battlegrounds and conflicts are numerous and its commerce phenomenal, should have no historical societies. There are only three in the Upper Peninsula. Make your priority known. History is the basis of education, and how long, O Michigan, will you be ignorant? With united work in our twin peninsulas we should lead the nation.

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WE wish to correct an error in the April Magazine ascribing the article, "An Early Visitor to Michigan" to Miss Velera Keller. It was written by Mr. Brayton Saltonstall, of Charlevoix.



## AMONG THE BOOKS

**T**HE GATEWAY TO AMERICAN HISTORY. By Randolph G. Adams, Little, Brown & Co., Boston, 1927, pp. 176. Maps and illustrations. Price \$3.

The word "Gateway" aptly hints of the nature of this charming volume. For readers of all ages but especially for children this book is surely the "open sesame" to the romance of the discovery period in the Americas. Its genesis was most natural, in a scrap book idea for the author's little son, we are told. The pictures form its most distinguishing feature; we learn that Dr. Adams had made some photostat copies of pictures from 16th and 17th century discovery books in the William L. Clements library at Ann Arbor, of which he is Librarian, and pasted them in a scrap book for his son, and that a noted collector of books one day seeing this scrapbook called the idea to the attention of *The Atlantic Monthly*. The pictures, some 75 in number, by persons contemporary or near contemporary with the events described, make in themselves a fascinating pictorial account. The simplicity of style and well chosen details of the text prepare us to hear that the author tried out both the text and the pictures in lectures before various audiences before committing himself to paper. For such a task Dr. Adams adds to his librarianship the qualities of historian and bibliographer. In earlier numbers of the Magazine are reviewed his *Political Ideas of the American Revolution* (VIII, 100), and *History of the Foreign Policy of the United States* (X, 661).

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**A**N INTERPRETATION OF RECENT AMERICAN HISTORY. By James C. Malin. The Century Co., N. Y., 1926, pp. 175. Price \$1.25.

In these latter days our historians have been devoting more and more attention to that last fifty years of our history which they characterize as "recent." Now Professor Malin seats himself in the interpreter's house and classifies the results of the labors which they have taken under the sun. He makes two categories for the events of the half-century and separates the two with a date. The keynote of our post-bellum history previous to 1887 is nationalization—geographic, industrial and governmental. The frontier disappears and the Union is completed by the settlement of the West; the South survives reconstruction and comes back into the current of national life. Industry expands from a local organization to a national one, while labor, banking, transportation, etc., have a similar development. At the same

time by reason of the Fourteenth Amendment and by judicial interpretation, the national government steadily takes over functions previously performed by the state or left unperformed. The result of it all is a nationalized federal state.

After 1887 expanding industrialism leads into imperialism. Industry bursts its swaddling clothes and reaches out for foreign markets. The close connection existing between industry and politics makes it inevitable that the government interest itself in the promotion of industrial expansion and so we have an improving of the consular service, a revising of tariff ideals, an agitation for a larger navy, and an interest in foreign countries not actuated altogether by altruism and benevolence. This imperialism was under way before 1898, and the war with Spain only accelerated it and gave it greater visibility. Imperialism proved to be an inevitable entering wedge for internationalism and the United States, because of its international interests, was forced to take an interest in international agreements and even to show friendliness to international organization. Imperialism has its reactions on our domestic institutions by increasing the power of the executive, by weakening the party system, by postponing reforms, and by giving a decidedly material twist to our ideals. Finally, as the government more and more takes power to itself, it becomes more and more responsive to the people who make use of it as an agent for the promotion of the general welfare.

The book is a thoughtful one and one that will provide thought. It may also provoke some anathemas.—R. S. Cotterill in *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*.

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IN THIS season when the spirit of travel seizes upon us, the historically minded will like to read travel books. One about this region, a fascinating account, by Jonathan Carver, takes us into "the good old days."

Jonathan Carver's book, *Travels Through the Interior Parts of North America*, was published in London in 1778. It was durably bound in leather and well printed on good paper with quaint type in which the letter "s" resembled an "f," according to the style of that time. The first one hundred and sixty-five pages contained "A Journal of the Travels," while a treatise "of the Origin, Manners, Customs, Religion, and Language of the Indians" filled the last two-thirds of the volume. In an extensive introduction, the author gave his reasons for exploring the Upper Mississippi Valley and for publishing his observations.

Probably no book of American authorship in the eighteenth century

was more widely read than the *Travels* of Jonathan Carver. Two new editions were published in 1779 and the third London edition appeared in 1781. A German translation had been printed in 1780 and later the book was issued in French and Dutch. Meanwhile several American publishers had reprinted the volume. More than thirty editions have been discovered.

Aside from the popularity derived from the perennial fascination of travel, whether beyond the Great Lakes or in the South Seas, Carver's book possessed literary merit that made it a veritable oasis in the dreary waste of eighteenth century American literature. Moses Coit Tyler described it as "noble and fascinating," having the "charm of a sincere, powerful, and gentle personality—the charm of novel and significant facts, of noble ideas, of humane sentiments, all uttered in English well-ordered and pure." It is said that Carver's poetical report of the harangue of a Nadowessian chief over the dead body of a warrior inspired Schiller to write the dirge, "Nadowessier's Todtenlied."

For many years the *Travels* were accepted as an important contribution to the early history of the Northwest, being the experiences of the first English-speaking traveller west of the Mississippi. But the time came when Captain Jonathan Carver began to be discredited. Men like Henry R. Schoolcraft, who spent years among the Indians, challenged Carver's description of their customs; and later explorers complained that his geographical observations were vague and inaccurate. Finally, in 1906, the great historical critic, E. G. Bourne, showed by means of parallel columns that Carver had apparently made liberal use of the writings of various French travellers in North America, especially in his descriptions of Indian life. This fact, together with uncertainty surrounding Carver's identity and some derogatory gossip by contemporary critics about his character, education, and military service, led historians to believe that the second part of the *Travels* was plagiarized and that the first part was not the authentic journal it purported to be. Moreover, the assumption that Carver, being an unlettered shoemaker, had hired someone in London to write the book gained general acceptance, and the suspicion grew that his trip to the West was only the figment of a fertile imagination.

But recently the genealogists have undertaken to rescue Captain Carver's reputation. They have found that he came of a prominent and wealthy family in Connecticut, that he served with some distinction as a captain in the French and Indian War, and that he was a man of unusual intelligence as evidenced by the fact that he was a cartographer of recognized skill. Milo M. Quaife has presented conclusive evidence that Carver went West as third in command of Major Robert Rogers's expedition to Oregon, and that his geographical obser-

vations while on that exploration tally substantially with the facts.

There seems to be very little room for doubt that the journal of Captain Jonathan Carver of Connecticut is authentic and that he was quite capable of writing his own book, albeit in describing Indian life he used the reports of preceding travellers too freely, as many another has done before and since. Although he died in London on the verge of starvation he need not be pauperized in reputation also, nor should his book be denied the importance to which it is justly entitled.—J. E. B., in *The Palimpsest* (Iowa Hist. Society.)